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Dissident Press Agency Established

LD2112142988 Hamburg DPA in German 1424 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Dissidents in Poland, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary today decided to establish an "East European Information Agency". Wojciech Maziarski, spokesman for the information service of the banned Solidarity trade union, said in Warsaw that this agreement was reached by telephone. The agency's aim is to disseminate information on events in Eastern Europe and primarily to supply independent underground publishers.

In a communique the founders expressed the hope that dissidents in other East bloc states would join. The new agency has three members in the CSSR, two in the Soviet Union and three in Hungary. In Poland there is a considerably larger number. Maziarski said that dissident journalists have been systematically exchanging information about events in their countries for several months.

Pact Disarmament Commission Activities Noted

AU1612220588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2130 GMT 16 Dec 88

["Session of Special Commission on Disarmament Issues of the Warsaw Treaty Participant States"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/12/1988—The fourth session of the Special Commission on Disarmament Issues of the Warsaw Treaty participant states took place in Bucharest, on December 13-15, 1988. Representatives of the foreign affairs ministries and of the national defense ministries participated in the session.

Based on the documents endorsed at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw and at the Budapest meeting of the Foreign Affairs Ministers' Committee, they analyzed problems related to the preparations for the future negotiations on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons and the steps to strengthen confidence and security in Europe.

The importance of the initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty participant states in the field of disarmament was highlighted, as well as of the concrete measures endorsed in that respect, that provided congenial conditions for the beginning and successful unfolding of the above-mentioned negotiations. The importance was stressed in that respect, of the recent decision endorsed by the USSR, after an agreement with its allies, on the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The session proceeded in a working, comradely atmosphere, in the spirit of constructive collaboration.

CEMA Commission Concludes Berlin Meeting

AU2212113388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Dec 88 p 3

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The CEMA Permanent Commission for Standardization, chaired by State Secretary Prof Dr Helmut Lilie, director of the Office for Standardization, Measurements, and Product Testing, concluded its 65th session in Berlin on Friday [16 December]. The delegations of all CEMA countries and the SFRY, as well as representatives of the CEMA Secretariat and international economic organizations of the CEMA countries, participated. Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent GDR representative in CEMA, received the heads of the delegations for a talk on Friday.

The several days of discussions focused on the implementation of the resolutions of the 44th CEMA session and the Executive Committee, among them proposals to perfect and intensify cooperation in standardization, including participation in international standardization and the use of the results, as well as increased cooperation with other international organizations.

Approximately 300 additional CEMA standards, mainly for the specialization of and cooperation in production—for example, in electronics (information processing systems, home electronics), mechanical engineering (open-pit mining equipment, vehicle construction, machine tools, and woodworking machines) and in the chemical and textile sectors—were confirmed. Thus, there are now more than 6,000 joint CEMA standards.

Several of these standards and already accredited testing facilities are the first basis for implementing the convention on quality assessment and the certification of supplied products, according to international optimum values, agreed upon by the CEMA countries.

BCP Plenum Continues Deliberations

Filipov Makes Statement

AU2112162388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 88 p 6

[Report on "Statement" by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the 13 December session of the BCP Central Committee 13-14 December Plenum]

[Text] I fully adhere to the high assessment of the conclusions and considerations presented in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's introductory speech and report "On Further Implementing in Practice the July Strategy in Restructuring Our Society." The description of the current plenum as a new summit along the road of further constructing socialism in Bulgaria, is also correct.

The introductory speech and the report set forth problems of exceptional importance, which are cornerstones in restructuring and a new development of its theory and practice. With their assistance we bring the July Concept into compliance with the requirements of the new historical contents formed in the contemporary world, and develop new approaches toward the practice of implementing this concept. Thus, we create the possibility for our revolutionary transformations to enter a new stage.

In essence, the party and people mark a new beginning of restructuring that will be characterized by an attack along the entire front and new dynamics in resolving the main national task—turning Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized state.

I would like to address three issues in my statement. The first refers to the new approach toward developing production forces.

We all know that a new and higher pace of development was established in our country after the remarkable BCP Central Committee July Plenum. It was the result of the first profound transformations we began to implement in the economy. However, the analysis of the first steps and results in restructuring show that our achievements have mainly been based on our former approaches. As the report correctly notes, no breakthrough in the most essential sphere—our production forces—has been effected.

Therefore, right now the most important issue related to implementing the July Strategy is to effect a breakthrough in developing our production forces. Only on this basis we can implement a comprehensive renewal of the entire society and construct qualitatively new socialism.

Naturally, this cannot be achieved only through modernization and reconstruction. A new approach is needed, and I support the one presented in the report, which leads to developing our production forces toward a new technological manner of production.

Obviously, the creation of production forces of a new technological type requires a new strategy, coordinated with the new world conditions and reality. The further development of the production forces must not be effected on the basis of the old manner of maneuvering predominantly domestic resources. It must take place on the basis of the organic engagement of our economy in the international economic processes and the broad use of the possibilities created by the international division of labor. This means in practice turning our foreign economic cooperation into a domestic development mechanism. Only thus we can create a new economy in the country and renew socialism in Bulgaria.

The new approach toward developing production forces requires strengthening the process of "opening" the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the world, in close cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries. Our economy is now "open;" however, the character of this "openness" depends to a large degree on the classical forms of trade. Under the conditions of the fundamental changes in world science and technology, and the profound and comprehensive internationalization of economic life, it is more and more necessary to advance from the classical forms of "opening" toward a "functionally open" economy. I mean active cooperation between national and world economies on the basis of direct production relations with the economic organizations of the socialist countries, industrial production sharing with leading companies in the capitalist countries on the basis of establishing joint enterprises, joint investments, and so forth. The consortiums, transfer of knowledge and technologies, joint banking activities, cooperation in science, and training of cadres must broadly develop.

The processes of our country's participation in the international division of labor can obtain further dynamics by establishing a common market of the socialist community, and obviously we must prepare for this. In the future our development must be implemented as a part of the common material basis of the socialist community and the world economy.

The new approach to developing the production forces requires a new organization and management of our cooperation with Western countries. In this context emerges the issue of bringing our legal system closer to the legal system used by our partners. We must facilitate the movement of capital, goods, articles, and technologies between the countries. It is necessary that the agents and implementors of our foreign economic strategy become themselves commodity producers. This means that they alone must deal with their foreign currency problems, appear with banks in the international market, and resolve all pressing problems related to their further development and to the technological and structural renewal of production.

The new approach to developing the production forces put the issue of turning our lev into convertible lev on the agenda. This is a matter of special importance that

determines much of the implementation of our strategy. In addition, it is obvious that we must work out a new approach toward the foreign exchange rate of the lev. We can create conditions of firm cooperation only through work with a real currency exchange rate.

The crucial turning point in developing the production forces is not a matter of the distant future. This is a task of the present. Therefore, it would be correct to turn this approach into the basis of forming the 1989 plan.

The other issue I would like to point out refers to implementing the economic reform.

The previous work related to restructuring shows that social renewal is possible only on the basis of new production relations, directly and actively attracting all working people to economic life, and developing their personal interests. Therefore, I fully adhere to the premise in the report that our next breakthrough must be connected with the implementation of a large-scale economic reform. By implementing such a reform we can overcome the direct producers' alienation from the means of production and property which has been created.

We need a new manner of functioning on the part of the uniform and indivisible socialist property. It is necessary to organize it in versatile forms. It is also necessary to use efficient forms of management that exist in world practice. I mean the broad use of leasing, piece-work, and so forth.

Placing the objects of property under the management of the labor collectives and the utilization of versatile forms does not mean that we must return to group property. All forms of management have one single basis: preserving the uniformity and indivisibility of public property.

I think that the proposal on introducing a company- and shareholders-based form of organizing economic activity in all national economy branches has exceptional importance in implementing the economic reform.

In addition, against the background of the new technological basis of production and the changes in the human factor that are taking place, there is not a more appropriate form of organizing production and labor than the company-based one. It is through this form that we can fully apply the principles of self-management, develop the system of commodity producers' interests, and effect structural and technological breakthroughs.

However, while creating the companies we must not repeat the weaknesses we had in forming the trusts. Obviously, the main factor must not be the elimination of factories and plants, but the removal of the administrative hats and untying the hands of the commodity producers.

The companies must have different forms and must not lead to monopoly. It is necessary to stimulate competition among them. In this context I think that there is a pressing necessity for working out a special law on struggling against monopoly and developing socialist competition. It is especially important to introduce shares and bonds, to create associations of share-holders, and to introduce a new system of wages. The company-based organization and the extensive use of shares and bonds, associations of share-holders, and other modern forms of management can become the basis of forming new socialism, socialism of "civilized cooperative members," described in the past by Lenin.

The new attitude toward property and the use of the company-based organization of production requires us to fully complete restructuring in the systems of planning, prices, and taxes, and strengthen the role of the market.

The plans must not be administrative instructions any longer. The collective must become the real agent of planning, while state commissions must develop as elements of this economic planning, and the procedure of their acceptance must be based on real dialogue and the contract system.

We must develop economic activity that is predominantly market-oriented. Our commodity producers must obtain broad freedom in developing direct relations with the market. I do not mean the introduction of a capitalist market mechanism. Under our conditions the state must further regulate the market and influence the commodity producers through the market, with the view to achieving the national goals. In other words, I mean the creation of our socialist, planning, market mechanism.

Effecting restructuring means to fully complete the restructuring of the prices system. Without this we cannot fully use the commodity-financial relations or apply cost-accounting or self-financing. The principles contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report must be incorporated in the basis of the price reform, and the prices must be coordinated with the requirements of the law of supply and demand.

We need new and more efficient tax regulating instruments. The taxes must guarantee resources for the state needs and create conditions of normal activity on the part of the commodity producers. I do not mean the application of the fiscal approach or the creation of hothouse conditions for separate companies. It is important to create equal conditions for all under the new tax system, and compel all enterprises to take care of their self-support. Let all enterprises that do not work correctly go bankrupt. The companies must be afforded the possibility of keeping their profit, after paying taxes, and use it for their development.

I cannot ignore the problem of the place of the state when I speak of the new model of mechanisms. The state leadership has existed, exists, and should exist. However, the state must not be above the country's agents of management, but just be one of them. The centralism must continue, however only in relation to the main strategic issues, and to creating conditions of free functioning on the part of the self-managing organizations and communities. Simultaneously, I would like to point out that I fully adhere to the premise of establishing in the future a new legal situation for the economic agents, including the state. Each of them must be equal before the law. The law and judicial organs must be, above all, participants in the country's economic activity.

While solving these cardinal issues of the economic reform it would be correct to use, without any prejudices, everything that has been created in this area by modern civilization and that could facilitate the achievement of our goals and tasks. A large part of what has been created by modern civilization can and must be utilized under our conditions.

The new approach to developing the production forces and implementing the economic reform sharply poses the question of creating a new type of cadres and a new system of training cadres. In order to develop the company-based organization of management we must first send the best cadres to this sphere. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out correctly that members of the Central Committee, people's deputies, and public and state figures from other sectors of sociopolitical life can join the managing boards of the companies and shareholders societies.

The third issue I would like to touch upon refers to the party's political and organizational activity under the new conditions.

The advance along the entire front of restructuring requires activating the entire party and turning its will and ability into a decisive condition of renewing all spheres of our social development.

This requires quickly completing restructuring the party itself.

It is clear that now we need a modern type of party leadership. The main point is to enrich and fully implement the political essence and character of the party leadership and overcome the deformations related to the so-called "misunderstood party leadership syndrome." We have already begun to release the party from its uncharacteristic role of being a stage in the system of state leadership. However, this does not mean that the party should turn into an observer, or deal only with agitation and propaganda.

In this context it is necessary to perfectly master the mechanisms of the party's activity as a partner and opponent of the state and economic organizations, and release it from its former relations with public organizations and movements. We need a new style and method of work, which must correspond to the principles of self-management. Now the most important function of the party organs and organizations is to develop their organizational and political activity in the social communities and mobilize the party and people for accelerating restructuring.

I think that now it is necessary to fight against inertia, the conservative approach, duplicity, demagogy, and in certain places—against the open resistance to restructuring. There may be no compromises in this area.

It is our duty to struggle against the adherents to "keeping two sets of books"—those who say one thing but do something completely different. I think that we must profoundly understand that the party line of restructuring is clear: "deeds and only deeds for implementing the July Concept." Those who do not want to restructure and cannot work at the level of the new requirements obviously must step aside and give their place to somebody else.

The main factor of our political approach is in strengthening relations between the party and people. This is especially important now, when we will develop restructuring from the bottom to the top.

In this context it is necessary to develop great work not just anywhere, but in the primary party organizations, where the Communists are. It is necessary to create conditions under which the primary party organizations and party groups turn into the personal cause and destiny of every Communist and every worker in Bulgaria.

Restructuring requires comprehensively developing the activity of the municipal and oblast party committees, which must function as political headquarters in their territory.

Giving restructuring new dynamics requires developing the functions of the new party organs, such as the commissions at the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, and at the municipal and oblast party committees. Those organs demonstrated their vitality and ability to attract new forces to party work and to assert the new style and July spirit. However, these organs have not fully developed their activity yet. Their activity is closed and primarily aimed at assisting the work of the party collective organs in working out separate problems and decisions. Obviously, now we must strengthen their organizational activity in putting into effect the decisions of the current BCP Central Committee plenum.

In other words, I think that we must do everything possible to fully facilitate the implementation of the party's role as vanguard of restructuring and guarantor of the revolutionary transformation that is taking place in our motherland.

Panev Speaks at Plenum

AU2012124588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 88 p 4

[Report on "Statement" by Ivan Panev, "Member of the BCP Central Committee and First Secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee"; Panev was elected member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo at the 13 December session of the BCP Central Committee 13-14 December Plenum]

[Text] The December plenum is discussing issues of exceptional importance for the theory and practice of restructuring which represent the continuation of the July Concept. We are facing the realization that we cannot achieve a real breakthrough in any area of life if we do not part, in an uncompromising manner, with everything that does not conform to the needs of society.

In his remarkable report and introductory speech Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in the spirit of the eternal April tradition, profoundly analyzed all necessary preconditions of clearing the road for a broad attack and developed a comprehensive and practical program on taking a decisive step forward.

Some people think that the party has forced the processes of restructuring in a hasty manner and without sufficient grounds. Others accuse us of indecisiveness and of delaying the changes. The truth is that when we began, we could not imagine how great and complex the difficulties would be. The truth also is that restructuring is an exceptionally complex and contradictory process, which does not tolerate neither haste nor excessive sluggishness, but rather requires a precisely determined speed and consistency in the transformations. The next few years will be very difficult, because our entire strategy will be transformed into real policy and will encompass all processes and all social strata. We expect great practical results from this policy.

Therefore, we think that the main political task of the BCP Sofia city organization is to clearly articulate its policy in the new stage of restructuring, and put into effect diverse and mutually dependent socioeconomic and organizational-political measures in all spheres of the Sofia economy.

It is from this position that we are reviewing the structure and pace of production, rates and investments, the human factor, and the application of new technologies in Sofia's economy. We have additional specific grounds for this approach: The annual pace of the basic funds renewal is 7-8 percent, while in the developed countries it is 10 percent, and in the leading branches—even 30 percent. Thus, instead of creating new production capacities of the scientific-technological kind that must be closely related to science and technology, we in fact are essentially reproducing the old structures.

Today we cannot resolve any of the accumulated contradictions and socioeconomic disproportions if we do not work out a comprehensive and coherent strategy of developing the economy, coordinated with the new realities. Therefore, in Sofia we are now developing electronics, biotechnology, automation, optical electronics, and the production of new materials on a priority basis. The composition of the national revenue must be shifted from the classical, major serial productions to new high technology systems and scientific productions.

Everywhere where proper conditions have been created, we must advance toward establishing a company-based organization of the national economy branches and activities. The creation of simple and clear rules for regulating the rights and responsibilities of all participants in the reproduction process must actively stimulate competition between the socialist commodity producers. The new companies must have well-established traditions. We must not allow the interruption of technological and organizational relations, but instead turn production into a more complex process, and create possibilities for major investments and international marketing, which will facilitate a foreign currency effect.

Other forms of economic activity have correctly been envisaged. Some 832 enterprises are now working in Sofia under the new conditions. By the end of the year their number will reach 1,481. In 1989 we expect to eliminate the unprofitable public catering establishments, improve services, and increase the activity of the trade workers. We began the preparation of the weekly wages experiment at the "G. Kostov" enterprise. The first "Sofstroyprodukt" construction company has been established. In addition we are discussing the establishment of enterprises of a high-risk character. Some six regional scientific-production complexes have merged under the form of associations.

Noted economists are advising: "Treat the workers as partners. Consider them as a primary source of production and profits." This proves how sharply the importance of the human factor has increased.

What is the situation in Sofia? Some 49 percent of the workers have elementary school education, and only 1 percent of them annually continue their education. If this tendency persists, Sofia will need 30 years to catch up with the level of education in some developed countries.

This issue has additional aspects. The development of Sofia's economy is taking place under conditions of constant tension in the balance of labor resources. During the last 10 years we attracted more than 100,000

unqualified workers, and simultaneously, the losses during the first 9 months of the current year have surpassed 2.4 million labor days. In other words, the labor of 7,000 industrial and 2,500 construction workers has not been utilized. Hence, one can conclude that in these branches there is an excess, rather than a shortage of manpower.

The Sofia city leadership has been correctly criticized for the numerous difficulties and shortcomings in transportation, trade, and everyday life and social services. Serious mistakes continue to be allowed in urbanization and in the architectonic construction of the city. It is most disturbing that these mistakes are obtaining a chronic character, while the relevant organizations are accepting them as something normal at the present stage.

Naturally, we shall not reconcile to this situation. With the assistance of the government we are adopting measures to increase the commodity funds and transportation means, improve the basis of health protection, urbanization, municipal-everyday life construction, and to restructure the food industry.

However, we must point out that the difficulties will increase if this predatory [khishtnichesko] elementary use of manpower continues. The departmental interest is so crude that in some places it turns into dictat, which has nothing in common with the requirements of a new style of working and way of living, and order and discipline everywhere and in everything.

The party is relinquishing the old methods of economic leadership. However, we cannot remain indifferent when national balances are being violated under the banner of self-management, and when the production rate is being lowered. Therefore, many insistent conversations have taken place with various associations and economic organizations to prompt them to mobilize all reserves of intensive development. Neither Central Committee decisions nor governmental decrees are needed to establish order in the enterprises and the sphere of services, or to sow on time and harvest without any waste.

No, times have changed now. We want to turn the companies into dynamic economic units, which will not develop at the expense of the state or society. Therefore, we shall not tolerate anymore ceaseless claims on restructuring. They are incompatible with the progressive development of society. The main thing now is to mobilize the creative energy of all people. This is a revolution in thinking and acting!

The BCP Sofia city organization has a complex membership. It is composed of 160,000 Communists, who, in everything related to their length of party service and versatile political experience, represent the most experienced party unit.

It is to the invaluable credit of the Central Committee that it equips the party and its members with well-grounded fundamental premises and specific approaches related to implementing the new and complex tasks of the July Concept. Simultaneously, the revolutionary essence of the changes creates in the people a positive attitude toward changes and prompts demands for accelerating restructuring and more quickly resolving the pressing issues of life.

At such crucial moments of change in party life, there are people who are trying to create false notions and illusions about the possibilities of socialism.

Our party's entire history teaches that as always, the most correct policy at such moments is the fundamental policy based on clear principles: to discern the essence of the processes and defend the vital interests of the party and people, despite the difficulties.

The fate of the processes of renewal in Sofia now depends to a large extent on the deeds and behavior of the Communists, the primary party organizations, and the city party organization.

The city and municipal committees will accelerate the process of asserting democracy in innerparty life, subject their work to glasnost and oppenness [publichnost], and therefore, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, will master dialogue and direct communication with the people, something which will contribute to the comprehensive renewal of party work. In this difficult enterprise we rely on the workers class, the scientific and artistic-creative intelligentsia, and all working people.

The versatile activity we developed while discussing the documents related to restructuring the intellectual sphere clearly demonstrated that the time of single direction "prohibitions" has vanished forever. Now party policy must be clarified and defended by dynamic political discussions, something for which certain party workers lack knowledge, courage, or experience in communicating through discussion.

I hardly say anything new when I again stress that the success of restructuring depends on all of us, on every Communist. The fact that at this crucial moment of party life many Communists and responsible party officials are assuming a position of wait and see is making a painful impression.

Therefore, we decided to convene a general meeting of Sofia city party members on the subject "Communists—Strike Force of Restructuring," at which the individual assessment of every party member and every primary organization will be made.

It would be correct to say that the present Central Committee plenum will be inscribed with capital letters in the annals of the great historical deed that we are implementing, while the importance of everything that began in July 1987 and that will continue in the future, will be evaluated by our children according to its merits.

Dyulgerov Gives Speech

AU1912110388 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Dec 88 p 4

["Statement of Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo," at the 14 December session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum held 13-14 December]

[Text] One and a half years ago our party worked out and adopted a concept on the comprehensive renewal of socialism in our country and formed a new strategy for its construction. A fundamentally different answer was given to basic questions on the theory and practice of socialism. The party's July Concept is a new philosophy of socialism and a working political platform for restructuring in our country, based on the rich experience of the April [1956 plenum] period in developing our country.

The current plenum poses another important and complicated task—to bring about a turning point in the practical implementation of the July Strategy.

The documents of this plenum clearly stress the new viewpoint of restructuring in our country—its dependence on the realities of the contemporary world. We are overcoming a notion which was indisputable until now: that the world is divided into two confronting systems. The plenum's documents present a new vision of the world and its new processes. This represents a creative enrichment of the theory on developing the contemporary world and the driving forces of social progress, something which brings our restructuring to new positions and reveals new horizons in front of it.

There is no alternative to mutual opening and penetration. A new historical situation is emerging, and we would like to find our real and active place in it. However, this is not all that simple. The process is a bilateral one—resources, goods, mechanisms, ideas, technologies, and experience will be exchanged with countries which in most cases are more developed than Bulgaria. It is correct to say that both sides now show understanding of the need to cooperate. However, nobody is doing any favors. On the contrary, everything will be constructed and developed on the basis of interests. The opening of the world means direct competition on the basis of the opportunities that have been created and the successes that have been achieved.

Under these circumstances we need different dimensions of the internal goals, criteria, and rate of restructuring. The logic and arguments contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's opening speech are unshakable. They deserve total support. Obviously, it is from this position that we must look at the proposed changes in the organizational forms and economic mechanisms. Within a brief period of time we understood how difficult it is to find correct answers and solutions within a national framework. However, it is much more complicated to coordinate and activate these answers and solutions in the international arena. The world to which we open ourselves for direct and businesslike cooperation is diverse, and this is something that requires a diversity of forms, structures, and mechanisms. In other words, we must free ourselves of the inertia and single-direction or single-meaning solutions.

The critical assessment of the progress of restructuring is another basic point in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech. He made the alarming conclusion that the alienation of the people from property and government has not been overcome, and that we have yet to find the proper answer to this question. It was clearly said that the previous mechanisms and regulating instruments could not reach man and his interests. The great importance attached to this question is justifiable, because this really is the fundamental political question of restructuring. Really, what restructuring can there be if we cannot reach the people, and if they do not participate in restructuring?

Under these circumstances, the inevitable question is why is this so? We must give a clear answer to this question and clarify our designs and actions, as well as the results they have produced.

The starting point must be the issue of how the ideas of restructuring are being understood and assessed. We must categorically say that people support restructuring, and that they are convinced that the old situation cannot continue any longer. They want a change, and the July Concept appeals to them because it guarantees conditions of acting on the basis of their initiative and interests, against the background of the legal, administrative, material, and financial opportunities that have been created. Simultaneously, we are facing a paradox: The people want restructuring; however, they do not participate in it.

What are the reasons for this situation?

Comrade Todor Zhivkov correctly stated in his speech that we did not find the necessary economic regulating instruments and management methods that could turn the ideas and premises into simple rules of behavior and could activate the people's interests.

The working out of practical mechanisms turned out to be a "Rubicon" of restructuring. It suffices to recall the Economic Activity Code to understand how difficult the transition from premises to functioning mechanisms was. We all know how many variants have been tried and how many times they have been changed, and yet, in the final account, we were not able to find the necessary solution. Other similar facts can be pointed out, such as Decree No 64 of the Council of Ministers and the Trade Unions Central Council on stabilizing labor resources, or the frequently changing economic structures.

This created an atmosphere of insecurity and distrust toward the legal acts. The cadres became accustomed to this situation and assumed a passive wait-and-see posture.

Taking into consideration that a comprehensive restructuring of almost the entire legal basis is to be implemented, I think that we must not ignore this problem, but on the contrary, find its causes and work out a solution.

Clearly, the difficulties are great—we have no personal experience, and we cannot borrow it from anybody. This was also correctly pointed out in the speech. Simultaneously, there also is another problem—the command-administrative methods that still exist. In practice, the main solutions continue to be unilaterally adopted by the center. In the past it used to govern independently, through directives, while now it does so through normative acts considered to be correct. The guiding principle is to establish administrative relations based on economic interests along the entire chain of production and management. However, how is it possible to note and coordinate the interests of all participants in this process and achieve the main goal—stimulating the interest of producers—if the rules of the game are being exclusively set by the hierarchy structures above the basic labor collectives?

Furthermore, experience constantly shows that it is impossible to continue any longer the situation in which legal acts aimed at transforming an obsolete practice and basing it on democratic principles are worked out by small groups of specialists behind closed doors. I recall that years ago, while dealing with the economic mechanism. Comrade Todor Zhivkov warned that without the broad participation of specialists, scientists, and practitioners it is impossible to produce a legal act that takes into consideration the interests and experience of all participants in the production process.

The problem of finding working mechanisms also has another aspect: when fundamental premises fail to be applied. This is the situation, for instance, with the brand new premise on the forms of socialist premises, worked out by the July plenum, on whose basis we expected to restructure social relations. We could not find a practical mechanism for such a radical act as the National Assembly declaration on placing socialist property under the management and administration of the workers' collectives that could establish new economic relations between man and property. The situation with applying the new premise on cooperative property, leasing, piecework, and so forth, is similar. I find this lesson very important, especially now, when we are launching such new ideas as shareholding, companies, and so on.

The ineffective or nonexistent regulating mechanisms are not the only reason for the fact that people remain passive about the practical activity of restructuring. I think that the failure in applying the mechanisms themselves is another important reason. It would be wrong to think that all mechanisms are ineffective, yet we see in practice that many of the things we undertake remain in their initial stage, or simply enter a formal and deformed phase.

Let us take for example planning. I think that we found a good technology for planning, which as a design and model corresponds to the economic methods of maintenance and self-management. However, if we make a comparative analysis of the political premises, legal acts, and planning practice, we will see that they remain far apart. This can be observed in the 1989 Plan as well. I do not mean the plan's indices and orientation, which we discussed in detail with the leadership of the Ministry of Economy and Planning, and about which we expressed the considerations of the trade unions, but the manner of compiling the plan. It remains to a large degree an official state plan, without variant solutions based on proposals from the bottom. In it one can hardly find the new role of the state and the self-managing organizations in planning.

I can point out more examples to show how the ideas of the legal system and the practical implementation of it is compromised. Such was for instance the case with the economic contracts system, which did not become the basic form of economic relations in production and marketing.

We must not regard these phenomena as inevitable companions of the complex changes. These are serious relapses of the command-administrative method, which require our attention, assessment, and reaction, because they not only halt the pace of the changes, but also discredit the new factors in the eyes of the people, and lead toward distrust and passivity.

All this creates dissatisfaction and alarm among the cadres and collectives, and they justifiably blame the central leading organs. However, we must also note another phenomenon: that the new system of regulating instruments and methods of management do not penetrate the enterprises and do not change them. This is what happens: The state and the enterprise establish certain economic relations, however, these relations do not reach the primary units and individual workers. One can very rarely find an enterprise based on a complete internal economic arrangement, such as the one required by the Economic Activity Code or the Labor Code, or well-functioning cost accounting, contracts, piecework, and so forth. There are a large number of cadres at that level who do not assume their new responsibilities, but try to pass them on to the higher levels.

This phenomenon erodes restructuring at its very foundations.

The inertia and stereotypes of centralism and the administrative approach continue to operate, albeit in concealed forms, from top to bottom, and we all, willingly or unwillingly, become accomplices. The struggle against oneself is the most difficult struggle, but we must find the strength, because the changes can succeed only if they begin with ourselves.

In conclusion one can say that the implementation of the ideas is the weak spot of restructuring. This conclusion applies to all. If one remains unaffected by the massive reforms, and one's behavior in labor and society does not significantly change, no one can say that we are doing our job correctly. Therefore I think that no assessment can be correct if it does not note this reality and does not propose appropriate action.

In this context I would like to raise the issue of the "revolution from the bottom," or, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said in his speech, the lack of adequate social activity in restructuring. We have always stressed the decisive role of the people's masses in every great cause. This is also the present situation. However, let us ask ourselves what starts and comes "from the bottom?" The truth is that there is almost no initiative or activity "from the bottom," and the people are again assigned the role of implementors. This appears mostly when something is created according to a local idea or initiative. There really is no area or activity in which something new and positive has not been created. The example of "Montana" [profitable enterprise] is not the only one. However, instead of a powerful and comprehensive support, new ideas and initiatives usually encounter such bureaucratic obstacles that they lose the battle. The road of the initiative "from the bottom" remains blocked by various decrees, instructions, departments of control, and so forth, while those who are blocking the road do not receive the deserved evaluation or penalty.

Generally, comrades, I think that we teach the people too much, instead of learning from them.

Of course, there are other causes, in addition to the aforementioned ones, which evoke passivity in the people in everything related to restructuring. In addition, I am not speaking about certain forces of resistance. Clearly, the process of restructuring is a global clash between interests, understandings, habits, and positions, behind which there are various social groups and individuals. Therefore I deem it necessary not only to point out the causes, which halt restructuring, but also to reveal the people who hide behind them, or, as Comrade Zhivkov's speech pointed out, to lead them out of their anonymity. For this we need not only an organizational-structural, but a political analysis as well. As a leading force of restructuring, the party is called upon to analyze the balance of power and interests in this process, neutralize the forces that halt restructuring by ideological-political means, and to create conditions for active and efficient work on the part of the champions of the new cause.

Comrades, the plenum's documents devote a special place to the public organizations, including the trade unions. The two sides of the issue have been dealt with: what character must these organizations have in the process of restructuring, and what changes must be effected in the public organizations themselves. New visions of the public organizations are being developed, and their specific nature and purpose are being noted.

We pose to the public organizations the categorical demand to fundamentally restructure themselves, by starting from the premise on the decisive role of the self-managing communities. Without ignoring the initial changes which have been effected in these organizations, we set before them the task of decisively freeing themselves from the stereotypes that have been created over decades, reassessing their previous functions, and above all, mastering their new role both as partners of and as opponents to the self-managing communities.

On the basis of the considerations which have been presented, it has been recommended to the separate public organizations to work out new directions of their further restructuring. This is necessary and correct. In this context I would like to direct your attention to two issues, which I think represent the basis of the practical work related to restructuring the trade unions.

The first issue, as pointed out in Comrade Zhivkov's speech, is the protective function of the trade unions. The expression used in the speech—"the so-called protective function,"—may have different meanings and interpretations. It could possibly hint that until now there has been no real trade union protection, which to a certain degree is true, or alternatively, that in the future the protection must be understood in a different manner, something which is based on serious grounds.

The protection of the interests of the working people is the essence of the trade unions, and their other name. However, the issue is, protection from whom, and in what manner? If we turn to history we will see that in all complex situations this issue has acquired special importance and has become a political issue. Furthermore, according to the sociopolitical situation, the trade unions have been accused of not having protected interests, or of having dealt too much with this protection.

In saying all this I do not want to dramatize the present situation. However, I do not think that one must simplify it. It just so happens that the trade unions are now subject to criticism both "from the top" and "from the bottom." It is true that there are weaknesses and vulnerable spots, and naturally, they cause dissatisfaction. However, we feel that the root of the matter lies elsewhere—in the fact that the trade unions do not have their own public identity and position. They can have their own identity and position only when they actively express and protect the direct interests of the working people, or in other words, when they place their entire organizational, educational, and protective activity upon

these interests. We understand protection not as self-serving opposition on every single issue, but as protecting the law, working out and proposing alternative solutions on issues that affect the vital needs of the working people, and actively working for their implementation. How are things with our present protection? If we take the position that the law requires from us, we can see that the trade unions are dealing only timidly and in a limited way with basic issues related to the standard of living, social security, and the problems of the separate professions. This is the grounds for the criticism from the bottom. On the other hand, trade union protection in the sphere of labor relations is often the subject of criticism "from the top." We often hear that the trade unions are protecting good-for-nothings. I categorically oppose such generalizations. I shall cite only one example: Some 50,000 people were fired last year because of disciplinary violations. The trade unions have restored the labor status of only 283 people, because in their cases the violations of the law were procedural. Are those who fired 50,000 people so faultless that they could not be corrected in some 280 cases?

Generally, comrades, the problem of trade union protection under the changing conditions is not an exclusively Bulgarian problem. It appears in different forms in all fraternal countries, which are heading along the road of restructuring. As far as we understand the situation, we can draw two conclusions: The first is that the protective function of the trade unions acquires a special importance everywhere, and the other—that wherever the trade unions and other public organizations do not protect the pressing needs, especially the newly emerging interests, they create a vacuum, which is quickly filled with parallel structures and formations.

Consequently, these are objective processes. The timely assessment of them and correct reaction to them are not issues of a departmental nature, but a problem which largely depends on the rallying of all strata and groups through their interests around the platform of restructuring.

The second issue on which I would like to present certain considerations is related to the trade unions as the public support of the organs of self-management. I can say that from the very first steps of restructuring the trade unions strongly engaged in this process, and consequently, started to search for changes in themselves and in their cooperation with all organs. The issue of the successes, deviations, and the influence of the old inertia is a separate matter. I am talking about the line followed by the trade union leadership.

We have always tried to consider the development of the premises of self-management and the realities of practice. We know that the ideas of self-management were strongly developed within a short period of time. Naturally, this affected the trade unions. We made efforts to adapt ourselves to the changing visions of this dynamic process.

However, what happened?

On the one hand, within a short period of time the trade unions had to free themselves of traditional functions and activities and master a new, large, and complicated set of problems. This caused a certain decrease in the activity, as well as vagueness, and hesitation in the organizations and cadres, despite the fact that much has been done for the organizational adaptation of the trade unions to self-management and to introducing new aspects into their activity. In the final account, no significant change in the self-managing communities was achieved, and as a result, one cannot say that the trade unions' prestige and authority among the people are very high. On the other hand, we strongly engaged ourselves in the process of self-management, despite the existing instability and incompleteness in the visions related to our role in self-management, and despite the fact that self-management is in its initial stages. We had to adapt ourselves to the role of organizers in the activity of the labor collective and its organs of self-management, to having to help and cooperate in organizing self-management, and to being an organic part of self-management.

Now the premise has been presented, according to which the trade unions, as all other public organizations, must be partners and opponents of the self-managing communities.

The partnership is understood as a "broad public support in clarifying and conducting the self-managing community's policy, as well as party and state policy in general." I think that incorporating the trade unions in this activity and turning them into a part of the mechanism of the functioning of the self-managing organizations will hardly withstand the test of life.

Perhaps in determining the image and functions of the trade unions, it would be better to start from the realities and needs of the relevant period, avoiding the a priori resolution of issues, to which practice will produce the most correct reference points and will suggest the most appropriate solutions. Actually, this is how the issue of the trade unions, as an organization and as an activity among the working people involved with various forms of property, has been presented in Comrade Zhivkov's speech.

Since we possess a comprehensive concept on renewing socialism and all its spheres and structures, let us objectively analyze the phenomena and processes being guided by this concept's ideas and principles, and creatively work to implement the revolutionary designs of the party.

Todorov Closes National Assembly Session 16 Dec
AU1612200188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The ninth session of the National Assembly closed today. [passage omitted]

The floor was given to National Assembly deputies Peko Takov, Yordanka Avramova, Aleksandur Yankov, Ivan Kharalambiev, Ivan Markov, Ivan Vrachev, Sava Dulbokov, Mikhayl Genovski, and Boris Iliev. [passage omitted]

The speakers proposed increasing material incentives and the sense of responsibility of all commodity producers for the fulfillment of the plan at a regular pace. It was pointed out that the establishment of enterprises for consumer goods and public services, and the programmatic purpose-oriented approach should be systematically promoted in all units of the scientific sector on the basis of agreements in the organization of scientific work.

Certain other specific proposals and recommendations were expressed. [passage omitted]

A decision on changes in the composition of the Supreme Court was adopted. [passage omitted]

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, in closing the National Assembly session, summed up the session's works, focused on the basic characteristic features of the budget and plan, and pointed out that the two laws on the budget and plan will be turned into social assets, only not because they have been adopted, but only if they are implemented —if the goals at their basis should become main stimulants for the initiative and creative spirit of the economic organizations and labor collectives.

Our obligations are increasing as well, Stanko Todorov said.

The National Assembly and its permanent commissions will systematically analyze the development of the economy and the implementation of the state plan; they will be strict toward all state and economic organs; they will closely watch the implementation of the structural and technological changes envisaged, and they will insist upon the fulfillment of the tasks connected with the population's living standards. Next year, in 1989, the chairman of the National Assembly stated, we should do everything within our power to overcome the lack of coordination between the population's financial incomes and the existing funds of goods, so that the market may be provided with a sufficient quantity of high quality goods. This would stimulate the people's active participation in the processes of renewal.

Incentives for all of us to work better and to accelerate restructuring on the basis of the July Concept are the decisions of the recent BCP Central Committee plenum, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, stressed in closing the session.

Assembly Issues Declaration on Human Rights

AU2012163688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Dec 88 p 1

["Declaration of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights"]

[Text] The National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, having marked the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at its session on 16 December 1988, and fully sharing the principles proclaimed in this declaration;

confirming the importance of this declaration as a basic programmatic document for the activities of the United Nations Organization, as well as for the activities of all states in the sphere of human rights and basic freedoms, and for the progressive development of international law;

hailing in this context, the considerable progress achieved in the encouragement and effective implementation of human rights and basic freedoms, as well as in the development of international cooperation in this sphere;

expressing profound concern regarding the gross, massive violations of human rights in South Africa, in the occupied Arab territories, and in other areas of the world;

confirming the primary importance of the rights of peoples and individuals to live in peace and freedom;

being convinced that the unrelenting observance of international commitments assumed by the states in the sphere of human rights contributes to guaranteeing a better and more just world;

pointing out the role and responsibility of parliaments throughout the world in guaranteeing and observing the implementation of human rights and freedoms in their own countries, including the adapatation of national legislations to international commitments and established international standards in this respect;

being guided by the lofty ideals of socialism, whose basic goal is to guarantee a free and comprehensive development of the individual under conditions of social justice;

being convinced of the necessity to improve social relations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to reform the legal system in order to further expand and better protect the rights and freedoms of Bulgarian citizens, and to involve these citizens in more active economic, cultural, and social activities and creative work for the purpose of establishing conditions for the implementation of self-management and for the development of democracy;

considering international cooperation in the human rights sector as an important means of confirming the universal values and ideals of mankind for freedom, equality, and democracy, and as an essential part of the all-encompassing approach to the consolidation of the UN Charter, declares:

1. The National Assembly will consolidate the goals and principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and will closely follow and control the observance of international treaties on human rights and other international agreements adopted in the sphere of human rights which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has signed.

2. Through its legislative activities and control the National Assembly will create the necessary conditions for involving the citizens in the solution of all questions related to state policy and social life by developing various forms of representative and direct democracy, such as self-management of labor collectives and territorial units under conditions of glasnost and free expression of opinions in connection with the settlement of state and social affairs and in the democratization of the election system.

3. The National Assembly confirms that the expansion of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as the consolidation of material and legal guarantees for their protection is a commitment of primary importance for the Bulgarian parliament.

4. The National Assembly expresses its resolve to consolidate and expand the principles of democracy and socialist pluralism in assessing the interests of all social groups—which is the main prerequisite for a free expansion of the citizens' creative forces and talents in a socialist society.

5. The National Assembly will consolidate and further improve its activities in fully adapting our national legislation to international commitments and standards in the human rights sector.

6. The National Assembly will contribute to the active participation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in international cooperation in the sphere of human rights which is implemented through the United Nations and other international organizations, including the Interparliamentarian Union, and the all-European process.

7. The National Assembly confirms its readiness to contribute to the expansion of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and other states, including their parliaments, for guaranteeing the legal protection of the individual citizen by fully observing the international commitments of all states in the human rights sector in the interest of peace and international understanding.

Ovcharov Gives Views at Press Conference

AU1912225088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] A press conference was given by Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of economy and planning, at the Bulgarian National Assembly in Sofia today for journalists who are watching parliamentary proceedings.

A series of questions connected with new economic conditions, under which economic activities in the country will be implemented and the 1989 Plan will be fulfilled, were discussed.

In answering questions, Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov spoke in detail on the establishment and tasks of companies, and on their activities in implementing the postulates of the BCP Central Committee December Plenum.

He also focused on competition incentives among individual producer organizations, on the competitive principle in the production of goods, and on the conditions which are expected to be created for the operation of these companies.

Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov also addressed questions on state orders and on the establishment of small and medium enterprises and others, as envisaged by the plan.

Zhivkov Greets Writers Union Meeting

AU2112103488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] A festive meeting was held at the Sofia Ivan Vazov National Theater tonight to mark the 75th anniversary of the Bulgarian Writers Union. The meeting was attended by Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, and Georgi Yordanov, as well as Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; leaders of creative unions and organizations, and outstanding figures from the world of arts and culture.

Comrade Yordan Yotov read a greeting message from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the participants of the meeting. The message reads:

Esteemed comrades, permit me to express my most sincere gratitude for the invitation to attend this celebration, as well as to present you best wishes for health and success on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Bulgarian Writers Union is a worthy, new occasion to recall the invaluable role of our artistic literature in the Bulgarian people's destinies. The greatest achievements of our centuries-old cultural development have most frequently be linked to the belles lettres, to the professional and

amateur creative arts, and to Bulgarian literature. Today we express the feelings of most profound gratitude to the work of those who are creating our native literature. This is a gratitude addressed to the contemporary Bulgarian writers and poets.

It is a sacred and pure truth that, without your achievements, without your participation in building a new society in our country, our contemporary culture and even our entire intellectual life would be unthinkable. We highly appreciate the assets of our native literature.

Representatives of several generations of artistic literature are present in this hall today. They have contributed to the creation of our progressive, socialist literature, to the strength and vital force of the literary process in our country.

All this merits the ardent gratitude of our people, our contemporaries, and of all generations.

I will confess to you that the first thing that occurred to me in thinking about this anniversary recently was the fact that the jubilee is taking place at a moment in which we particularly need to go back to the past in history, and to consider the present and future of your organization.

Going back to the lessons of history does not mean that we should be prisoners of past traditions, but means we should base ourselves on tested postulates of the past and present. It is impossible to exist without this. Why? Because the history of your union also speaks of periods in which the strength of the union lay in the fact that it has responded naturally and uninhibitedly to the needs of creative artists and creativity. This applies to the history of your union in certain periods preceeding the 9 September 1944 revolution. This path was followed by the Writers Union even after the victory of socialist revolution, and particularly in the years following the 1956 April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

It also happens that your anniversary celebration almost coincided with the just ended BCP Central Committee plenum. As is known, the basic problem which the party leadership dealt with was the question of how to proceed with the practical implementation of the July Strategy and with the restructuring of our society.

You are acquainted with the decisions we reached and with the practical measures which we intend to adopt and which will be pursued with all the firm resolve which we are capable of as a Central Committee and as a Communist Party.

We are convinced, and I hope you share this conviction, that a strong offensive is needed, an offensive encompassing the entire cultural front and involving all participants in this revolutionary process. It is natural that we should search and struggle for an advance in the cultural fields, including the sector of the arts.

You know that for over a year the workers in the intellectual sphere have conducted live discussions on this subject. It is satisfactory to state that the majority of Bulgarian writers are striving with all their hearts and souls to further develop and explain the party stand on the basic issues of restructuring in the intellectual sphere.

This is the reason why we are now facing a moment of assessment today, why we are looking back at the long history of the writers organization, and in doing so, we always touch upon the same subject: It is the subject of restructuring all activities connected with the creative literary process and the publishing processes, with the final consolidation of our literature.

We should now create conditions together so that our intellectual life may reach a new level, and this requires the introduction of basic changes in the system and methods of organization for creative artists in all spheres.

As a result of this, in dealing with the question of creative unions, including the Bulgarian Writers Union, we have in mind the total and inexorable elimination of everything that impedes the total self-implementation of the new, talented, and creative artist, so that our new creative artists may develop, and our cultural life may be purified of sins which we can no longer tolerate.

I would like to sincerely that I have not been an observer standing aside, and have committed my share of those sins. Like many of you I met the devil. We can only comfort ourselves with the thought that some of your brothers have also met the devil.

Naturally, we have no recriminations against the union's present leadership and its chairman, or against former chairmen and leaderships of this union. Our recriminations are addressed against the system which is the source of shortcomings in the Bulgarian Writers Union, and prevents its renewal. I am talking about shortcomings that should be eliminated both among you, in your home, and everywhere else. The writers themselves need the renewal of their union, because the intellectual development of society, the democratization of creative arts, and the free and total expansion of the literary process are the meaning of all our present-day life and of the writers' cause.

Such a renewed union can serve as a model for all other creative unions and for our entire intellectual sphere. I am convinced that Bulgarian writers will set an example in this respect, and I am confident that the July Concept, the decisions of the December plenum, and the revolutionary enthusiasm of restructuring will become the very essence and core of your creative work, your call, and your destiny.

Permit me once more to congratulate you on your union's anniversary, and to wish you health and new creative achievements, Todor Zhivkov's greetings message to the participants in the festive meeting devoted to the 75th anniversary of the Bulgarian Writers Union, states in conclusion.

Traykov Interviewed on Press Law

AU2012091388 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Is a press law necessary, why is it late, what should the new law be like? — These are the questions Mr Boyan Traykov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists' Union, answered in an interview for the POGLED weekly.

Mr Boyan Traykov said that it would be more correct if the legal document regulating the rights and the obligations of all mass media is called an information law.

A group has been formed to gather information on similar laws in other countries and to draw up an information bill, which will be proposed by the Bulgarian Journalists' Union, by taking into account the concrete needs and conditions of the Bulgarian practice. The Bulgarian Journalists' Union for an information law. [sentence as received] In his opinion the bill should be presented after the forthcoming discussion of the restructuring which is to be implemented in the legal system of the country. It will make it possible to draw a better bill which will be in conformity with the process of democratization.

Mr Boyan Traykov explained the delay in passing an information bill with the process of restructuring, in which society is growing to maturity for changes with every passing day and social thought is rapidly making a progress. It would be misleading if you take my position to be that of a wait-and-see policy. I mean that we should not come to hasty decisions and make the law an end in itself. First and foremost we must think about its content and the support it should provide to Bulgarian journalism to enable it play its new social role, Mr Boyan Traykov explained.

The future law should regulate the new interrelations between journalism on one hand and society with its institutions, individual citizens and man on the other in the conditions of the sweeping restructuring implemented in all spheres of life, the active process of democratization and openness and the new social role of the mass media they predetermine. Openness and control presuppose that journalism must take on definite social, legal and moral responsibilities and that it should be granted the legalized right to receive all necessary information, facts and data. The new social role of the mass media involves mainly the efforts of the creative workers in the field of journalism, but it is necessary to provide them with a legal basis so that the struggle against the barriers of bureaucracy and dogmatism be assisted also by law, Mr Boyan Traykov said, adding that the body of laws should guarantee the rights and the liberties of society and the individual citizens against possible abuse on the part of mass media.

Dzhurov Attends Defense Support Meeting

AU1612195188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] The First National Conference of the Defense Support Organization took place in Sofia.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov; Colonel General Velko Palin, chief of the BCP Central Committee National and Social Security Department; as well as other state functionaries, public figures, and economic managers attended the conference.

Lieutenant General Trifon Balkanski, chairman of the Central Council of the Defense Support Organization, delivered an introductory speech to the main report, in which he summed up the experience accumulated in the work of the organization and dealt with the major problems of the ensuing changes in this work.

Zhivkov Receives Romania's Barbulescu

AU1912221988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, who is paying a business visit to our country.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, Comrade Todor Zhivkov focused on the most topical tasks facing the Bulgarian Communists and all Bulgarian people in connection with implementing the July Concept and in connection with fulfilling the decisions of the most recent December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee on fundamental restructuring in all spheres of our country.

Questions pertaining to the development of cooperation between the BCP and the RCP, and between Bulgaria and Romania, were discussed.

Attention was also devoted to bilateral agricultural relations.

The meeting was attended by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and by Vasile Pungan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania in our country.

BCP Greetings on PZPR Anniversaries

AU1912093488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 88 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the PZPR Central Committee:

On behalf of the Communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria please accept most cordial and fraternal greetings on the 70th anniversary of the Polish Communist Party and the 40th anniversary of the PZPR.

The establishment of the Polish Communist Party in 1918 marked an important stage in the heroic history of the Polish people. The activation of the people's masses under the influence of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the restoration of the Polish state created the precondition for rallying the country's revolutionary workers' movement. The Polish Communists, inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, became the vanguard of the working people in the cities and villages, in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, exploitation, and government, and for social liberation and progress. The party's glorious revolutionary traditions developed and enriched themselves during the difficult years of the struggle against Hitlerite occupation, and for national unity and broad sociopolitical transformations.

The PZPR, which has for 40 years led the Polish people on their march along the road they have selected—the construction of socialism in their restored motherland—became the worthy heir and continuer of these glorious traditions. In close cooperation with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the Polish people achieved great successes in all areas of life. Poland became a developed state with deservedly high international authority, which is making an active contribution to asserting the new political thinking and strengthening peace and understanding throughout the world. Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching under the conditions existing in Poland, the PZPR is consistently implementing a course of social renewal, aimed at accelerating socioeconomic progress, improving the working people's well-being, and strengthening democracy and self-management.

We note with deep satisfaction that on the basis of the unity of goals in implementing restructuring, which exists between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR, fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between our parties has entered a qualitatively new stage, which will facilitate the further strengthening of Bulgarian-Polish relations and benefit the two peoples.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the PZPR Central Committee and all Polish Communists and working people happiness and new and even greater successes along the road of socialist construction.

Jakes Addresses CPCZ Plenum 15 Dec

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[Speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 15 December: "The Assessment of the Party's Activity After the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Substantiation of the Proposal To Convene the 18th CPCZ Congress, and Tasks Connected With Its Preparations"]

[Text] Comrades: The importance of the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session is that it has to make a decision about convening the 18th CPCZ Congress, and discuss and approve the orientation of the work of the party and its bodies and organizations in preparing it. At the same time we will take a stand on urgent tasks and problems connected with the social and economic development of society and the restructuring of the economic mechanism, and on tasks of the 1989 State Plan, on the solution of which we must concentrate the efforts of all Communists and other working people. To begin with, I would like to inform the Central Committee about the fulfillment of the resolution of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session to date, and about the development of the political situation in the party and society.

In the past 2 months, following the 10th session of the party Central Committee, the activity of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee has been concentrating on ensuring the realization of the conclusions adopted by the Central Committee at that session. We have therefore been building on the work which has been done to date in working out and implementing the resolutions of the 7th and the 9th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. A detailed list of the issues addressed by the executive bodies of the CPCZ Central Committee in that period is contained in the report on the activity of the Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions of the Central Committee, which has been submitted to the present session.

Naturally, 2 months is a very short period from the viewpoint of the party's and society's life and work. Despite that, we can note that in a number of respects the results of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session have become positively projected into the general atmosphere and the development of the domestic political situation in our country. Among Communists and the majority of the other citizens they have met with lively interest and a positive reaction. What is involved is important political capital, which we should not waste. Great attention has been concentrated, in particular, on the changes which the Central Committee approved or recommended to carry out in the cadre sphere and in the party's organizational structure. Also, the recommendation to speed up by the convention of 18th CPCZ Congress by one year has met with general support. The conclusions adopted by the Central Committee to develop ideological work under the conditions of economic and social restructuring are gradually advancing into the foreground of interest.

The results of the 10th session have met with an international response, as well. In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, they have been received with understanding and valued as another important step in the realization of the comprehensive restructuring of our society. Also, progressive and democratic forces in other states have taken a realistic stance toward them. Naturally, hostile bourgeois propaganda and the media serving it commented on it differently and from different perspectives. In unison with some antisocialist groups in our country, they strove and continue to strive to distort the results of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, create a false picture about the situation in our society, and about the policy of economic and social restructuring, which we are implementing with identical objectives with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. All such attempts must be opposed with offensive ideological work and convincing arguments.

In the period following the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, we have already taken a number of practical steps to implement its resolutions.

In accordance with the Central Committee conclusions, the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR began its work on 31 October. The reaction to the establishment and the start of the of the committee's work, as it arises from the findings of party aktivs, letters, and other information, is, all in all, positive. At present we are concluding the build-up of its apparatus. We are considering about 60-70 staff members, exempted from the CPCZ Central Committee apparatus, to ensure the activity of the committee, while, as it was said at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, further reducing the number of the Central Committee's staff members. Also, the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission elected an 11-member commission at its 15 December session for the party's control and auditing activity in the Czech SR, and released 15 of its staff members.

With the exception of the Legal Commission, which will meet on 21 December, all other standing commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee, which were approved at the latest session of the party Central Committee, have begun their work. Also, the Commission for the Drafting of New CPCZ Statutes has begun its work. The Central Committee's Commission for the Preparation of the Party Program will meet in the course of today's CPCZ Central Committee session. We are convinced that well-thought-out and energetic work by all commissions will constitute a considerable contribution toward the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee activity, and that the commissions will actively contribute to mastering the weighty tasks facing us in connection with the preparations for the 18th congress, as well as to the need to more

resolutely resolve topical tasks and problems when implementing the strategic line of the acceleration of social and economic development.

Further, the work on a new cadre roster of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Committee for Cadre Work in the Czech SR, which has been submitted to you for assessment, was finished in that period. It fully reflects the demands of the resolution on the perfection of cadre policy, adopted at the 7th CPCZ Central Committee session. Its integral part includes the principles for the formation of cadre rosters and their application in party bodies and organizations. It places demands on cadres from the viewpoint of the existing conditions and needs. It definesd and in a number of respects also simplifies the mechanism for submitting cadre proposals to party bodies. The nomenklatura of the CPCZ Central Committee and its bodies is being substantially narrowed.

Both the CPCZ Central Committee cadre roster and the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR respect that the truly most prominent nomenklatura functions will be included in them. This, at the same time, means the strengthening of the powers and responsibility of all lower components of the party structure as well as the appropriate ranking personnel in nonparty bodies when implementing the party's cadre policy within the range of their activity.

After the approval of the CPCZ Central Committee's cadre roster, the CPSL Central Committee and the regional, city, district, and borrough party committees will work out their cadre rosters. In view of the envisaged movement in the further stage of the restructuring of the enterprise sphere and the center, they will have to be continually updated at all levels.

Clear and Concrete Speech of the Program of the Federal Government

A new CSSR Government was appointed immediately after the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, and changes were carried out in the national governments. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium devoted great attention to the preparation of the program statement of the new federal government, delivered by Comrade Ladislav Adamec in the Federal Assembly. The party and the public received the statement positively. Its clear and concrete text, openness, concreteness, and critical nature, and the fact that it touches upon issues on which the attention of our citizens is concentrated, are appreciated. Due to its nature the federal government is aware of its great responsibility, assumes it, and wants to live up to this responsibility. The decisive thing now is to energetically, and by consistent conceptual, organizational, and control activity ensure the realization of the set plans, not retreat before obstacles, and not be afraid of problems and possible conflicts and risks. The Presidium recommends that the Central Committee fully support the government program statement and its realization along the party line. What is particularly necessary is to develop a political and ideological activity in such a way as to make the implementation of the program statement literally the national affair, and, above all, the affair of all state, economic, and social bodies and organizations, as well as of all autonomous bodies. This is in the interest of all citizens, the entire society, in the interest of more rapidly achieving the desired results in the socioeconomic sphere, in the growth of the living standard, and in the implementation of the objectives of economic and social restructuring. This, in particular, requires reducing production costs and the consumption of energy, raw, and other materials. This will not be possible without changing the production structure more quickly, without innovating products and technology faster, without more resolutely applying the results of science and technology in practice, and without more decisively overcoming shortcomings in the orientation and the inadequate effectiveness of the capital construction.

The determined relation between the growth of wages and labor productivity must be strictly adhered to; discipline and order must be strengthened; and people's activity and initiative must be developed and made extensive use of in order to fulfill tasks. In other words, we cannot afford to live above our means in any sphere. When necessary, we must be even able to tighten our belts. This requires eliminating useless and ineffective expenditure and the substantially better management of all material and financial resources. Comrade Adamec will speak at today's session in greater detail about tasks in the socioeconomic sphere, about next year's plan and the problems connected with it, and about progress achieved in the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Therefore, I would like to briefly touch upon only a few issues.

As is known—this arose from the program statement of the federal government as well—it was decided to begin the implementation of the new economic mechanism in practice 1 year earlier than originally envisaged—as of 1 January 1990. The CPCZ Central Committee supports this decision and considers it justified. At the same time one has to see that this is a very demanding and complex task, which is also fraught with considerable risks. Its implementation requires a thorough political, economic, cadre, ideological, and organizational ensurance. What we must stress is that—parallel with organizational changes, with applying new economic instruments, with establishing self-managing bodies, with elections of directors—there are faster changes in the content, style, and methods of work, and in the general conduct of all management components and ranking personnel.

Regarding the task of reducing the number of staff in the central federal and republic bodies, thus far roughly one-half of the staff foreseen to be released has left. A total of 120 posts of deputy directors and vice chairmen (46.5 percent), 312 section directors (69.4 percent), and 552 heads of departments (27.1 percent) have been abolished in connection with the establishment of the new organizational structure and the definition of the central bodies' activity.

One has to insist that together with the reduction of the number of staff, the appropriate premises and facilities be vacated as well. In this respect, the progress made—with the exception of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs of the Czech SR, the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, and the Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications—has been slow. In many places various excuses and ways are being sought as to how to circumvent this task. This cannot be tolerated.

Urgent problems which make people's lives bitter and which influence the general social climate and, one could say, the political climate as well, must be solved with far greater determination. What is, in particular, involved is implementing the measures adopted to improve the supply of the domestic market, especially with industrial products, and drawing conclusions about those not doing their job. In general, one must say that the difficulties which we have on the domestic market cannot be blamed on the present government—they did not come into being just now. Even though deliveries of a number of products have increased, we cannot be satisfied by much. The balance on the domestic market has been upset. Ensuring smooth supplies is an urgent requirement. We need citizens' understanding, so that they do not succumb to shopping fever and unnecessarily stock up on products. In the retail trade there must be better organization and goods must be ordered early to get them on shelves, to consumers.

The main solution to ensure the stability of the domestic market lies in production, in its quality, choice, and prices. Therefore, we continue putting stress on the fulfillment of the state plan, as well as on wages, remunerations, and on the consistent linking of shares with genuine production results. Any other way would lead only to inflation.

Anonymity must not be tolerated anywhere, in any sector or level of management. It is necessary to fully implement everywhere the principle that specific people are accountable for every good or slipshod piece of work, for every success or shortcoming. Everyone, wherever he may work, is responsible for something and must be responsible for its consequences, whether they are good or bad. Anonymous criticism is turned against the party, against the Central Committee and the government. Ultimately, shortcomings and problems then come to be identified with the socialist system.

Health care is an important part of the living and cultural standards of the people. With this in mind, the Central Committee Presidium has dealt in detail with the present state of our health care system and the further directions of its development. We will have to pay systematic attention to this issue so that the conclusions that have been adopted can be consistently carried through to completion everywhere. At the same time it must be pointed out that the health service and its facilities and institutions can solve only some of the tasks facing us in this area. Society as a whole and all its components are duty bound to secure care for the health of the people as an indivisible part of our economic and social development. At the same time it is vital that every citizen treat his own health with the greatest responsibility and consideration. Wide-ranging health education must also be geared to this aim.

The Purpose of New Laws Is To Accelerate Restructuring and Deepen Democracy

A great deal of work has been accomplished by the Federal Assembly in the past 2 months. In addition to the aforesaid programmatic statement of the CSSR Government, it discussed and approved other important laws extending the political and legal prerequisites for the acceleration of economic restructuring and for the deepening of socialist democracy. The approval of the amendments to the Labor Code is, undoubtedly, of considerable importance; the principles of these amendments were finalized on the basis of the results of a public debate, the standpoint of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and sessions of committees of People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations deputies.

Support has also been given to the appeal of the Federal Assembly and the standpoint of the National Front Central Committee on adherence to socialist lawfulness and the deepening of socialist democracy, which react, inter alia, to the fact that some individuals and small groups, supported by certain forces in the West, are trying, at variance with the working people's honest efforts, to disrupt the process of restructuring and democratization and to misuse it for antisocialist aims. This is particularly the case in Prague. The attempt to profane and disrupt the dignified course of the National Day celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic; the organization of a seminar in connection with that date; as well as the misuse of the authorized gathering on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for blatant attacks on socialism were also meant to serve this end. What is involved are attempts by individuals and groups to bring about confrontation—attempts which cannot be tolerated because they have nothing in common with genuine democratization, restructuring, and the interests of our people.

Active support for political, economic, and social restructuring and for the conclusions of the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee has also been expressed by the congresses of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association, the Union for Cooperation With the Army, the Socialist Academy, and other important sessions of National Front bodies and organizations. Support was also fully manifested at meetings with representatives of the other political parties associated with the CSSR, Czech SR, and Slovak SR National Fronts. Also significant in this context was the November session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, which dealt with ways of further increasing the activity and share of

its affiliated organizations in implementing the tasks of socioeconomic development, restructuring, and democratization, and in tackling the problems and shortcomings that hamper a speedier progress. At that session the National Front Central Committee also approved the composition of the CPCZ and National Front commission for drafting a new CSSR Constitution, which will commence its work on 10 January next year. It also endorsed the request of the Czech Union of Nature Conservationists and the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists to be admitted to the National Front. On the initiative of the November session of the National Front Central Committee, the Forum of the Czechoslovak Public was held a few days ago to mark the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Human Rights Day, which established the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. We expect this committee to contribute to strengthening the basis for exercising the rights of our citizens, to developing international dialogue on humanitarian cooperation, and to fulfilling commitments undertaken by states in the field of human rights.

Since the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, a number of important events have occurred in the international sphere as well. As arises from the submitted report on the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat, the foreign political activity of the Communist Party and our state continued in this period.

Comrade Ladislav Adamec, premier of the new CSSR Government, paid a visit to the Soviet Union, during which a number of questions of economic cooperation were discussed and agreed upon. These talks will continue. Of great importance was the working visit by Comrade Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the CSSR. The program of ideological cooperation between our party and the CPSU signed during his visit provides for the further expansion of coordination between the two communist parties in ideological education work, in the activity of the mass information media, in science, education, culture, and in other fields.

Czechoslovakia was visited by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Angolan People's Republic and chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, and a number of other leading foreign representatives from the following countries: the Bulgarian People's Republic, the PRC, the DPRK, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Spain, Brazil, the United States, and Ireland.

Our party and state officials held numerous talks, or participated in major events, in the Soviet Union, the GDR, Austria, the FRG, Greece, Portugal, and Spain.

Last week, Czechoslovakia was visited by Francois Mitterrand, president of France. This first visit by a French president to our country elevated the Czechoslovak-French dialogue to the highest level, created good prerequisites for the further development of mutual relations, and gave fresh boosts to the deepening of cooperation in all spheres.

In contacts with our Western partners, we are expressing a sincere interest in transforming Europe into a continent of lasting peace and cooperation, and we provide the necessary impetus for it. The Czechoslovak proposal to set up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations is aimed precisely in this direction. We actively seek a rapid conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting, whose results can significantly contribute, if all parties conscientiously fulfill their commitments, toward the development of the all-European process and give a boost to talks on a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional weaponry in Europe, as well as to talks on economic, scientific-technical, ecological, and humanitarian cooperation.

In our party and state foreign policy we support everything that serves the cause of peace, strengthens international security, and broadens cooperation and understanding among states and nations. At the initiative of prominent personalities of Czechoslovak public life, a model international conference on the Middle East was held in Prague a few days ago. Tens of politicians, scholars, and public figures assessed ways of solving the long-standing crisis in that explosive part of the world. We welcome the proposals and recommendations voiced at the conference and are convinced that their implementation would strengthen the positive processes taking place in the world today. At the same time we support the results of the Palestine National Council session held in Algiers. In the declaration of a Palestinian state we see a hope for the fulfillment of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and a promise of peace for all peoples living in the Middle East.

The undeniably most significant event of the past days in the international political sphere was the trip of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the United States, his address of principle before the UN, and his talks with the incumbent president, Ronald Reagan, and the newly elected president, George Bush.

Addressing the highest international forum, the Soviet representative formulated the key problems and historic tasks facing the contemporary world, which require the joining of forces by everyone for the sake of the salvation and flourishing of civilization. In harmony with the agreed common line of the socialist countries, Comrade Gorbachev delivered new, important, foreign political initiatives, which represent a significant program for further deepening the process of improving international relations, enhancing trust among states and nations, and solving the global problems facing human civilization. Czechoslovakia fully supports this program, a constitutent part of which are unilateral measures concerning

armed forces and conventional weaponry. In the case of the CSSR, this phase will involve the withdrawal of one Soviet tank division from our territory and its subsequent disbandment. This decision was discussed with us and has our backing. Other measures will be adopted as well, including our own. We believe that this gesture of goodwill shall meet with NATO's favorable reply, and that it will become an impulse in the process of European disarmament.

As is known, in connection with the tragic disaster in the Armenian SSR, resulting from a destructive earthquake, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev interrupted his visit to the United States. Also, from today's session of the CPCZ Central Committee, we convey to the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people deep condolences on the loss of many human lives and considerable material losses. We voice appreciation for the highly human, internationalist approach of our citizens, who spontaneously—materially and financially, and by donating the most valuable asset of all, their own blood—have tried and continue to try to help the fraternal people overcome the severe consequences of the earthquake and contribute to saving human lives in the affected parts of Armenia.

So much, comrades, for the most important events characterizing domestic political and international developments since the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. It can be said that, in general, another step has been made in this period in developing the process of restructuring and democratization.

In assessing the situation in the party and in society from a broader perspective, we bear in mind that the development in our country is accompanied by a number of serious problems, that in many places old approaches—formalism, stereotyped action, and inertia—have deep roots. It is in particular in the strategic directions that are crucial for a healthy and stable development of society that progress is slow. This concerns, above all, a consistent turnaround in the direction of intensive development, toward a substantial increase in the performance and technical standards of the national economy. The targets with respect to the generation of resources, which are the necessary prerequisites for implementing a strong social policy and ensuring social guarantees, as well as for strengthening people's trust in party policy and for the growth of its influence in society, are not being fulfilled. Much has yet to be done to improve the overall moral atmosphere in society so that the socialist concept of social justice becomes the accepted norm everywhere, so that indifference, egalitarianism, and various forms of parasitism are eradicated, and so that great appreciation is awarded to honest and high quality work. This is conditional on a more consistent translation into life of the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which oblige the party to take the initiative in solving these problems. We stress again that the key to the successful implementation of the policy of economic and social restructuring lies in the standard of party work and in its firm bonds with the people.

Proposal To Convene the 18th Congress

Comrades:
The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium submits to today's session the proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress on 10 May 1990. The reasons for convening the congress a year ahead of schedule were expounded at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. It was said that significant changes are now taking place in our party and society and that tasks, requirements, and problems are taking shape that are in many respects completely new and the assessment and solution of which is a matter for the party congress. Another aim is to discuss the directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan prior to the entry into the new quinquennium.

The significance of the preparation and holding of the 18th CPCZ Congress is determined by the very period in which we live, by the scope of the processes taking place at present, by the need to attain a new quality of the socialist society and its connection with the gains of the scientific-technical revolution. The congress will assess how we have embarked upon this stage. It will assess the results achieved in the socioeconomic sphere and the pace of economic and social restructuring and will adopt conclusions on future party policy in implementing the strategy of speeding up socioeconomic development for the benefit of society and each of its members, for the benefit of socialism and peace.

The congress will discuss a report of the party Central Committee and a report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, principles of the party program and the draft of new party statutes, and guidelines for socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, and it will elect a new CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

Some basic documents, in particular the principles of the party program and the draft statutes, will be submitted for discussion. Why do we now talk about principles and no longer about a party program, as contemplated earlier? The Central Committee Presidium proceeds from the premise that, given that this is the stage of a turning point and that the congress is being convened a year ahead of schedule, it would be difficult to adopt a scientifically founded party program as early as at the 18th congress. At the same time, the work on the principles of the program and their discussion at the congress will make it possible to clarify a number of issues concerning our further development and the targets we are aiming at. The principles of the program must be based on the realities of contemporary world and on changes in our society, particularly on experiences from restructuring and democratization and from the ongoing scientific-technical revolution and its social

and ideological implications. In drawing up the principles, use will be made of the experiences of the fraternal parties, particularly the CPSU, of everything brought forth by revolutionary theory and practice. The preparation of the principles of the party program must hold its own from the viewpoint of the prospects of the CPCZ's and the CSSR's development. It must be based on the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, on a high-principled scientific analysis and communist adherence to party principles.

The draft of new party statutes will also be submitted to the 18th congress. We proceed from the premise that the existing statutes have been amended several times. That is not decisive, however. The main thing is that the party statutes must correspond to the new conditions in which the party works. It is necessary, among other things, to project into them the principles that were discussed by the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. They must assist the party in the fulfillment of its vanguard role in society, which is the crucial prerequisite for the success of restructuring.

We expect that the 18th congress will evaluate yet another document of exceptional importance—the principles of a new CSSR Constitution. As is known, work on drafting these principles will commence jointly with the National Front.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed and approved a timetable for the preparation of the 18th congress, including the designation of responsibility of individual party bodies, comrades, and institutions. A great role in preparations for the congress should be played by the newly established commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee. The main aim in the precongress period will be to literally set in motion the party's entire intellectual potential, to put to full use its creative resources and experiences so that the entire party becomes involved in both the formulation of its political line and in its implementation.

Annual members' meetings and party conferences will form an exceptionally important part of the preparations for the congress. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has recommended that annual members' meetings of primary organizations be held from September to November 1989. All-plenary [vseplenarni], plant, all-enterprise, local, and city conferences will be held in December 1989 and January 1990; district conferences on 10-11 February and 17-18 February 1990; and regional conferences and the Prague and Bratislava city conferences on 17-18 March 1990. It is being recommended that the CPSL Congress be held in April 1990. As for the organizational arrangement of the party at the level of the Czech SR, these matters will be dealt with in the draft of new party statutes.

The annual party meetings will assess the results achieved in implementing the conclusions of the 17th congress and the subsequent Central Committee sessions, the implementation of the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development, and the fulfillment of the tasks of the state and economic plans and of social restructuring. They will assess the activity of party members, the style and effectiveness of party work, and the ability to provide political guidance and to work in the atmosphere of the policy of openness, public access to information, and deepening of socialist democracy.

In their resolutions, the party meetings will set out the further course of action and adopt specific and mobilizing measures aimed at fulfilling the Eighth 5-Year Plan and at developing labor initiative. They will focus attention on an offensive embarkation upon the application of the new economic mechanism in the national economy and on its practical introduction as of 1 January 1990. They will direct the efforts of Communists among senior managerial personnel toward increasing their share in implementing the tasks of restructuring and in satisfying the needs and interests of the people and toward a more rapid overcoming of obstacles, shortcomings, and indifference and apathy in implementing party policy.

Speeding up pace and eliminating half-heartedness and inconsistency in the realization of CPCZ Central Committee resolutions, which have been positively received in the party and by society, is a reliable path leading toward good results. Every party body, every party organization must comprehensively support bold creative approaches to solving tasks and problems and everything new and progressive emerging out of practice and generalize and spread positive experiences. At the same time, they must exactingly analyze the causes of lagging behind and see to it that remedial action is taken at every place where weaknesses and shortcomings make themselves felt and where adopted resolutions and measures are not being fulfilled. This is one of the very important tasks of annual meetings and conferences, which must contribute to the growth of the ability of the party as a whole to come to terms with new social processes.

Upgrading the Party's Activity to the Level of the Tasks of the Times

The Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee laid down a fundamental task: To carry out restructuring in the activity of the party itself. What is it that matters most in restructuring party work and what in particular comes to the foreground in the precongress period? It is, above all, a profound democratization of the internal life of the party, the democratic exercise of the party's leading role, and the demand that the party be the leading moral force of society. The deepening of internal party democracy is the unconditional prerequisite for the activity of communists, for the party's political health, and for its ability to develop.

Freedom of discussion must be secured in the work of every party organization; an atmosphere must be created, in which every party member has the feeling that

his view is requested, that his every suggestion will be evaluated in a businesslike manner. This is the only way of learning and expressing reality as accurately as possible and of arriving at action unity. We must raise the ideological and organizational unity of the party to the level of the new tasks. This unity is not given once and for all. It takes shape in the process of the creation and implementation of party policy. We will continue to build it and to strengthen it on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application, on the basis of the solution of the tasks of restructuring and democratization, specified at CPCZ Central Committee sessions held in the wake of the 17th congress.

Particularly during periods of great social change, it is necessary that leading cadres of all bodies and organizations, and the party as a whole, correctly understand these changes and in due time draw the appropriate conclusions to ensure that the party always takes the lead, that it acts as the true vanguard of society, and that its unity, ability to take action, and its bonds with the people grow in strength.

An important requirement is the consistent implementation of collectiveness in party work. Openness in the activity of party bodies and organizations and extensive public access to information must become the norm for the working people to be able to take part in the joint undertaking and so that a well-informed dialogue is conducted with them about the creation and methods of the realization of party policy and about the solution of problems encountered by them. An indivisible part of internal party democracy is decisionmaking on the basis of alternative proposals; the rendering of accounts by committees, office holders, and individual communists; regular turnover among leading office holders; elections on the basis of selection from a number of candidates; and the implementation of the principle that no one, whatever his position, can be above criticism and control.

It is essential to place great emphasis everywhere on the deepening of democratic principles in the execution of the party's leading role. This requires the employment of the method of political guidance in the activity of all party bodies and organizations and the elimination of all manifestations of insensitivity, ordering about, and supplanting other agencies and organizations. The basic requirement is that the party line in non-party agencies can, as a matter of principle, be asserted through the medium of Communists who work in them. Political guidance is closely tied up with the development of activity by all elements of the political system, with the expansion of self-management by organizations associated in the National Front. We endorse independence in their activity, which proceeds from the party's political line. We support their initiative in contributing their share to the building of socialism; their responsible expression of the interests of classes, social groups, and generations; and their work toward harmonizing these interests with national interests. Providing political guidance also means to be guided day by day by Gottwald's continually topical slogan "Facing the Masses." This slogan expresses the party's vital interest in having the people understand its policy, which is a policy for them, and in having them support and implement it. Just like in the past, today, too, it is necessary to strive for people's trust and, as I would even say, to fight for it. This calls for overcoming complacency, administrative methods of work, various manifestations of ordering about, and decisionmaking behind closed doors and for asserting utmost exactingness and responsibility everywhere. The demand to develop independence and to make use of all the opportunities provided by the socialist system also fully applies to the national committees. The overriding duty of communists working in them is to make sure that the measures adopted to increase their legal powers and their responsibility, especially at the basic level, are consistently implemented.

Our political system creates scope for the wide-ranging democratic assertion of the pluralism of interests and views. We once again emphasize that we are in favor of socialist pluralism, which does not and cannot have anything in common with the formation and operation of antisocialist political structures. This would be directed against the innermost interests of the working people and against their power. This is why a return to the pre-February [1948] situation, let alone to the conditions of the bourgeois republic, is ruled out. This must be realized even by those who think and act otherwise and who would like to enforce this return.

The implementation of economic and social restructuring, the bringing about of changes in the spiritual sphere of society, the correct enactment of political guidance, and the uniting of Communists and of all citizens on the basis of the political line of the party are all indivisibly linked with raising the quality of ideological work. This is the aim pursued by the conclusions of the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which need to be implemented more consistently. In the precongress period, party bodies and organizations must extensively develop their ideological activity, particularly everyday mass political work. It is essential to achieve a state where questions concerning the effectiveness of ideological work form an important part of annual members' meetings and party conferences themselves. The basic and primary requirement is that this activity should be closely linked to practical life, that is it should flexibly and convincingly respond to burning issues and problems in the party and in society.

We must also raise the criteria of Communist moral values in party life. This presupposes high ideological standards, adherence to principles, modesty, and, in particular, honest and comradely relations so that all Communists are equal, have a close intimate attitude toward their comrades, and hold them in esteem as fellow fighters. We must declare a merciless war on manifestations that are at odds with this, as well as on all expressions of greed, profit-seeking, and egoism, which damage the party so much.

The precongress campaign should contribute toward ensuring that every Communist makes use of his rights and discharges his duties as the party statutes demand. It is necessary to put an end to all excuse-making, tolerance, and exoneration, which permit socioeconomic parasitism, which in turn leads to moral, ideological, and political decay. Communist adherence to principles must begin to assert itself fully in this area, for without the removal of these amoral phenomena it is hardly possible to close party ranks and to rally the working people around the party.

Sociological studies, the results of which we discussed in the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, reveal that some functionaries have no authority, not only in the eyes of many nonmembers, but also in the eyes of members. The opinion is deeply rooted that quite a few functionaries misuse their positions, that there are people who join the party for various advantages, mainly to assure cadre advancement. Certainly, such cases do exist, and so we are also solving them. However, it would be a political mistake to generalize them. The overwhelming majority of members and functionaries have joined the party out of conviction and with the will to use their energy and abilities for the benefit of socialism, in the interest of a better life for the people. They work selflessly, for which they deserve sincere thanks. The party relies on them when it comes to solving the current revolutionary tasks. We must support honest and hard working people everywhere, and where it proves to be necessary, stand fully behind them.

At the 7th CPCZ Central Committee session we approved the resolution on work with cadres. The essence is the democratic selection of cadres. We must unequivocally push through this principle in the preparations for the annual membership meetings, conferences, in the entire precongress campaign. The important thing is that ideologically and politically mature Communists, who have natural authority, who are highly selfless and consistent in their work, and who are capable of and determined to apply restructuring and democratization in practice, be nominated for and elected to the new party committees. The elementary task in this respect is judging people according to the results of their work, according to how capable they are of purposefully motivating and organizing collectives to fulfill tasks.

In cadre preparations for the annual membership meetings, party conferences, the CPSL congress, as well as the 18th CPCZ Congress, one has to ensure the correct placement of cadres, so as to prevent the accumulation of functions. One has to ensure their healthy turnover, promote young people and women, and gradually elect them to higher bodies, as was determined at the 7th and 9th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. We must realize that the success of restructuring requires upgrading the cadre work to the level of the demands of the times. It has been said quite a few times that this sphere of party activity is of decisive importance for the realization of our objectives now and in the future.

The immediate task on which we must focus our attention right after the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session is an offensive implementation of the 1989 plan. This concerns Communists both in the enterprise sphere and in the center. Together with that it is necessary to thoroughly politically, in respect to cadres, and ideologically ensure the further stage of the restructuring of the production, scientific-technical, and circulation base, as well as tasks which arise from this for the central bodies, which must more decisively change the content and the methods of their work. At the same time, we also have to pay great attention to issues connected with the party's organizational structure. We must draw lessons from the experience to date and avoid shortcomings; and there were quite a few of them. Another important thing is not to permit various speculations and narrow enterprise or departmental interests.

All fundamental issues connected with the restructuring of the economic mechanism must be resolved with the active participation of work collectives.

When implementing our internal tasks we will continue to firmly rely on the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We are vitally interested in making CEMA's activity more efficient and will take an active part in the realization of the plans determined in that respect. The implementation of structural changes and the acceleration of scientific-technical development, on which the performance of the economies of the individual countries as well as of our community as a whole is contingent, depends to a considerable degree on their realization. We are convinced that the planned meeting of the highest representatives of the CEMA countries, which is to be held in the first quarter of 1989 in Prague, will yield significant stimuli for this.

The more favorable trends in international relations have created better prerequisites for our work, too. Together with the Soviet Union, all countries of the socialist community, and the realistic, progressive, and conservative forces we will actively contribute to the process of the relaxation of tension, to disarmament, and to the development of peaceful cooperation among nations.

Comrades; we also submit some cadre proposals to today's Central Committee session. I would like to inform the Central Committee that Comrade Vasil Bilak has requested to be released from the post of member of the Presidium, Secretariat, and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and chairman of the Central Committee's Commission for Foreign Policy. The letter, addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium states:

Esteemed comrades; this year 20 years have elapsed since I was elected secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee. At the same time, I turned 71 years old. These facts lead me to request the CPCZ Central

Committee to release me from the post of secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, and member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Foreign Policy.

With comradely greetings
Vasil Bilak

The Presidium assessed Comrade Bilak's request and recommends to the Central Committee to comply with this request. On behalf of the Presidium, and certainly also on behalf of the entire Central Committee, I want to express high appreciation for Comrade Vasil Bilak's work, which he carried out for our party and socialist society, for our alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union, its Leninist Communist Party, and for the strengthening of the international ties with other socialist countries and fraternal parties. We sincerely thank him for this great work. Comrade Bilak's entire life to date has been connected with the struggles of the CPCZ for the vital interests and happy life of the workers class, of the working people. As a consistent patriot and internationalist he took an active part in these struggles. I would like to express particular appreciation for his contribution to the strengthening of the positions of our party in the international communist and workers movement. He displayed the courage of a Communist, loyalty to the party, the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and friendship with the Soviet Union in the difficult years of crisis and in overcoming their consequences.

Comrade Bilak was active for many years in our party's leadership and won recognition and respect. His work was more than once appreciated through the awarding of our and foreign highest decorations and orders. We wish Comrade Bilak robust health in the coming years, and believe that he will continue contributing, with his knowledge and wealth of experience, to the solution of the problems facing us, to mastering the tasks connected with the comprehensive restructuring and democratization of our society, to strengthening the party's unity and ability to act.

Comrade Josef Kempny, too, has requested to be released from the post of member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. In his letter addressed to the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee he states:

Esteemed comrade; in view of the fact that I was elected member of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, I request to be released from the post of member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee.
Salute to Work!
Josef Kempny

The Presidium recommends to the Central Committee, in accordance with the principle of the nonaccumulation of functions, to also comply with Comrade Kempny's request. On this occasion we wish to express appreciation for the meritorious work he performed for many years in our party's leadership, and thank him for it. Comrade Kempny's life has been connected with the struggle of the Communist Party for the victory and development of socialism in our country, to which he contributed by performing important party and state functions. Comrade Kempny, as chairman of the Czech National Council, will continue working in the post of member of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, where he will be able to make full use of himself and his experience acquired in the course of his long activity as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

In connection with the establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, and as the consequence of this, in addition to the transfer of a number of activities in the economic and other spheres to its competence, it is being proposed to reduce the number of secretaries and departments of the CPCZ Central Committee. On this basis the Presidium recommends to the Central Committee to release Comrade Mikulas Beno from the post of member of the Secretariat and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, with the provision that he becomes the post of chairman of the Federal Material Reserves Administration. On behalf of the Presidium and the entire Central Committee, I also want to thank Comrade Beno for his meritorious work to date in party posts, which he conscientiously carried out, and wish him much success in his further responsible activity.

The proposed changes correspond to the conclusions which we adopted at the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, and which concern ensuring a healthy turnover among cadres in the party's leading bodies. This also results in the reduction in the number of members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, which was—in the interest of electing new, younger comrades in this body—temporarily increased.

On behalf of the Presidium, I ask the Central Committee to endorse the cadre changes.

Comrades; with the decision to convene the 18th Congress, the CPCZ will enter an exceptionally important period of intensive work, which will require an active and highly responsible approach by all party bodies and organizations, all Communists. We are also aware of the difficulties with which we will meet. However, that cannot discourage us. Our party has great experience. We can rely on the undoubted accomplishments which our people have achieved in the construction of socialism.

The important thing is that all our activity be directed toward the implementation of the slogan "The Party and the People United on the Path of Restructuring and Democratization for the Development of Society," in the spirit of which the annual membership meetings, party conferences, and the party congress are to be held. This requires us throughout the precongress period to consistently implement tasks in the socioeconomic

sphere and in the other spheres of social life, to consolidate the party's unity and ability to act and its bonds with the people. We must see to it that a broad scope for the unfolding and application of all creative forces of society is created everywhere. Only in this way will we be able to approach the 18th Congress of our party with desirable results.

CPCZ Resolution on 18th Congress Presented

AU1912141488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 December p 1

["Resolution To Convene the 18th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] At its session held on 15-16 December 1988, the CPCZ Central Committee passed a resolution to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress on 10 May 1990, with the following agenda:

1. Report of the CPCZ Central Committee on the activity of the party and the development of society since the 17th CPCZ Congress and other tasks in implementing the strategic line of accelerating the economic and social development, restructuring, and deepening of socialist democracy.

2. Report of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

3. Report on the main directions of the economic and social development of the CSSR for the years 1991-1995.

4. Approval of the CPCZ statues and other congress documents.

5. Election of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The CPCZ Central Committee designates that one delegate with a full vote be elected for every 1,000 party members, and one delegate with an advisory vote for every 5,000 candidates for membership in the CPCZ.

CPSL's Valek, Durica Released From Duties

LD1912174488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee is meeting in Bratislava today. It is discussing the implementation of the social and economic development plan in the current year, the plan for the coming year, the course of economic restructuring in Slovakia, and tasks arising for the Slovak party from the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, expressed the conviction that the results of the 12th CPCZ Central committee session will have the full support not only of Communists, but the general public in Slovakia as well, which by their positive attitude, will help in the consistent implementation of the party's resolution.

Ignac Janak went on to remind that the principal task of the precongress campaign will be to comprehensively dwell on how to turn the great potential possibilities and advantages of socialism into concrete results in the economy, technology, science, culture, social development, and the way of life.

He thanked Miroslav Valek, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Slovak minister of culture, who asked to be released from his post, for his long and selfless work. In connection with the release of Comrade Jozef Durica from the post of chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, the CPSL Central Committee Presidium submitted a proposal that he be released from the post of member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat.

Cadre Changes Made in West Slovak Committee

AU1912171988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, and Telephone..." column]

[Text] By open ballot, the deputies of the West Slovak Regional National Committee elected Jaromir Valent new chairman of the West Slovak Regional National Committee. At the same time they released Jaromir Algayer from his post as chairman of the West Slovak Regional National Committee, in connection with his appointment to the office of the CSSR minister of agriculture and food.

Human Rights Forum Meets in Prague

AU1512160688 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 December carries on pages 1 and 2 report age totalling 5,900 words, on the "Forum of the Czechoslovak Public," which was convened in the Congress Palace of the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation in Prague on 10 December, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Human Rights Day.

The 2,500-word report by Marie Boudova, Pavel Novak, Rostislav Valasek, and Zdenek Vavra, carried on pages 1 and 2 and entitled "The Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation Set Up," cites the opening statement by Bohuslav Kucera, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the CSSR National Front and chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and statements by various speakers in the discussion. According to the report, they all stressed the significance and importance of human rights and of asserting them in various spheres. One of the speakers, the report states,

was "Alfred Bienert, who spoke on behalf of the delegation of CSSR citizens of German nationality and their Cultural Association. He appraised the implementation of the right of every nationality to develop and the conditions of the all-round development of nationalities. He briefed those present on the activities pursued by the Cultural Association of CSSR Citizens of German Nationality, which was set up in 1969 and which is contributing to the patriotic and international education and to the intensification of fraternal relations between all our citizens. We rely on the high activity of our members, who are proving that we are a firm component of the CSSR National Front, he said in his statement.

"Andrej Kovar, assistant dean of the Philosophical Faculty of the Pavol Jozef Safarik University in Presov, spoke about the share of CSSR citizens of Ukrainian nationality in the economic, cultural, and social development of our society," the report goes on to say, "he stressed that comprehensive conditions have been established for the citizens of Ukrainian nationality to develop in the material and intellectual sense. They have their own ensembles, literature, a museum of Ukrainian culture, a theater, schools, etc. He said that the CSSR citizens of Ukrainian nationality are prepared to undertake socioeconomic restructuring."

The report then notes that the Forum adopted a message of condolences to the USSR people in connection with the natural disaster in Soviet Armenia and cites other speakers in the discussion, among them university lecturer Stefan Gyorgy from Bratislava. The report states that he "spoke of the deep transformations in the status of CSSR citizens of Hungarian nationality and dealt with the theoretical and practical aspects of the rapprochement of nations and nationalities and with the improved education toward patriotism and internationalism."

The report notes that the discussion was closed ("for reasons of time") after 23 speakers had delivered their statements in person, and 42 others had handed over their statements for inclusion in the session materials. It states that the Forum set up a Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, approved its 68 members, and adopted a Declaration; and that the newly established Committee elected an 18-member Presidium and chairman, Professor Zdenek Dienstbier, doctor of medicine and of sciences, at its first session held the same day.

On page 2 the paper carries a 1,100-word interview with Zdenek Dienstbier by Zdenek Vavras and Rostislav Valasek, entitled "We Want to Activate the Public." After recalling that Dienstbier also holds the office of scientific secretary of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War organization [IPPNW], and is head of the chair of nuclear medicine and biophysics and of the Institute of the same name attached to the Medical Faculty of Charles University in Prague, the reporters ask him for an assessment of the Forum session and about the most important suggestions made there; about the Committee's main tasks as a nongovernmental organization and its control function; about the way the persons to be invited to the Forum had been selected; and about the organization's humanitarian activities.

In replying Dienstbier speaks positively of the support given by all speakers to the idea of setting up the Committee, but adds: "However, I was disappointed by certain discussion statements, primarily those made by representatives of organizations and of certain political parties, which smacked far too much of the superficial professionalism paying homage to the past."

"We do not conceal that human rights are a burning issue in our own country, too," he goes on to say, and "that we have problems with their assertion, which we will have to deal with."

Among the Committee's tasks Dienstbier lists "the activation of our public to participate in creating and implementing the activities of state agencies and other social institutions and in checking up on them", and the winning of public trust, since "up to now the public has had very little opportunity and scope to become actively involved in the resolution of human rights issues." The theses of the Committee's activities will be worked out in the very near future, he notes, and groups of experts and teams will be set up to deal with environmental and social issues, medical care, etc. "We will also concentrate on issues connected with the observance of human rights in the world," he states, "and I expect the Committee to work in close cooperation with people abroad. By providing specific data, we should also support the activities of our representatives in a number of international negotiations—here I am primarily thinking of the Vienna meeting on the conclusions of the Helsinki conference."

Dienstbier then says that "ordinary CSSR citizens know very little about the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and human rights in general—they mostly have only vague ideas; we should therefore attempt to pursue certain forms of enlightenment here. Human rights have become the object of ideological struggle, and we find ourselves (I am not afraid to say this) directly in the line of fire, if only because we have been passive in the international arena."

He states that the Committee's control activities will consist of passing on the citizens' complaints to state agencies on a higher level than the level involved in the complaints, and of demanding constructive replies. The Committee Presidium is expected to meet every 2 months, the Committee plenum semi-annually; the Secretariat is to be based in Prague, but the premises have not yet been fixed. According to Dienstbier, the participants in the forum "were delegated by the political parties of which they are members, by social organizations, churches, and cultural and nationality unions. Several citizens, representing certain prominent personalities in our state, also attended the Forum."

Humanitarian activities, he says, will not consist of expressions of commiseration alone—"we do not exclude the possibility of material assistance by means of contributions from our citizens."

On page 2 RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,700-word report on the speech delivered to the Forum by Josef Mecl, dean of the Faculty of Law of Charles University in Prague. After dealing with the history of the struggle for human rights, he is reported as saying: "Our own experience, for which we often paid a high price, enables us to grasp the meaning of basic human rights—the right to live, to live in peace, to work, to lead a dignified life in a free society without national and social oppression. In our country the development of human rights has so far been linked with achievements characterizing the socialist system."

After explaining the content of international covenants on civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, and the intention to incorporate basic legal norms which apply to human rights in the new CSSR Constitution, Mexl is reported as saying that "certain individuals, to whom restructuring, new thinking, and the working people's effort to continue building our society are alien, are currently striving to cast doubt on these efforts or to frustrate them outright. Sometimes they are joined by others—for various reasons, but particularly because they are politically inexperienced. We must fight for these people—as we must fight, generally speaking, for every person."

Mecl then lists the tasks of the new Committee (i.e. the assessment of suggestions and proposals on matters connected with the assertion and protection of human rights; presenting them to CSSR state institutions or international organizations; monitoring the fulfillment of international covenants on human rights and of the provisions of the CSCE Final Act and its follow-up meetings; the organization of international cooperation in the sector of human rights and humanitarian issues);and states that the work will be "significant, but will demand great patience, understanding, and support. Its purpose will be to contribute to the development of the human personality and to the rich life of society, without which no further successful advancement of socialism can be achieved."

On pages 2 and 3 the paper carries a 1,600-word "RUDE PRAVO interviews," quoting the views of individual participants in the Forum on what impressed them most and on the prospects of the new Committee's work.

In addition, the paper carries on page 1 the 1,250-word "Declaration of the Forum of the Czechoslovak Public" and a 1200-word list of members of the "Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation."

List of Human Rights Committee Members Published
AU1512171588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 88 p 2

[List of the members of the "Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation," proposed by political parties, social organizations, churches, and cultural and nationality associations in the CSSR, and approved at the session of the Forum of the Czechoslovak Public held in Prague on 10 December]

[Text] Professor Zdenek Dienstbier, doctor of medicine and of sciences, chairman;

Assistant Professor Jan Azud, doctor of law and of sciences;

Emilia Dubcakova, doctor of law;

Vladimir Flegl, doctor of law and candidate of sciences;

Ivan Jiruska, doctor of law;

Professor Miloslav Kodym, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences;

Engineer Pavla Kolarova;

Miroslav Korelus;

Professor Jozef Krajci, doctor of theology;

Anton Krajcovic, merited artist;

Professor Zdenek Krejci, doctor of medicine and of natural sciences, candidate of sciences;

Jiri Malenovsky, doctor of law and candidate of sciences;

Igor Micieta, doctor of medicine;

Doctor Petr Mison, candidate of sciennes;

Assistant Professor Senta Radvanova, doctor of law and candidate of sciences;

Zbynek Vokrouhlicky, doctor of law and candidate of sciences;

Engineer Ruzena Wagnerova; and

Karel Wojtowicz

Trade Agreement Reached With EEC

LD1912155488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Belgium—Today in Brussels, Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on trade in industrial products with the EEC. Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba, in a speech prior to the signing of the agreement, stressed that the present accord is merely removing obstacles which until now have been preventing or are still preventing the normal development of trade. In his opinion, it is, however, necessary to set ourselves still higher and more demanding goals.

The two representatives stated that the agreement between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Czechoslovakia on trade in industrial products which was signed in Brussels yesterday is a very good basis for the development of economic relations.

In this connection, Ladislav Adamec stressed the interest of Czechoslovakia in cooperation with the EEC countries as they are natural partners for Czechoslovak industry. Willy de Clercq said that the integrated market of West European countries which is to come into existence in 1992 offers many possibilities also for Czechoslovakia.

Also present were Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba, head of the EEC delegation for negotiations with Czechoslovakia Pablo Bonavides and other officials.

Adamec Receives EEC Officials

LD2012231888 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 20 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec received here today Willy de Clercq, member of the commission of the European Communities and commissioner for external relations and trade policy.

West Berlin Resident Arrested at Border

LD2112194788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1420 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Fuerst, a resident of Berlin (West), was arrested by the GDR security services at the border crossing-point of Wartha on 20 December. Fuerst was caught red-handed in an attempt to commit criminal acts against the GDR by abusing the transit agreement. An inquiry was begun and an arrest warrant issued. The Peugot car used for the crime, registration No B-T 5320, was confiscated.

Commentary on Price Policy Reported

LD2212112388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0302 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Today's "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" publishes a commentary by Juergen Kuczynski entitled "A Unique Standard of Living, in as Far as..." The text is as follows:

For almost 2 decades Comrade Erich Honecker has stubbornly clung to the policy of stable prices for basic essentials, rents, and fares. Over the past months and weeks other comrades in the state and party leadership have stressed this prices policy is immutable. The last to do so was premier Willi Stoph at the seventh session of the People's Chamber on 14 December. Perhaps this more frequent emphasis of our firm resolve to stick to this price policy is connected with the fact that arguments are being increasingly raised against it. The danger of the counterarguments raised is that they are logically and economically correct—and yet are basically wrong. They say the set prices are mostly far below production costs. Correct. They say that the prices of goods which are not basic essentials are often far above their production costs. Correct. The money for the subsidies—around M50 billion a year—for basic essentials comes from the profits on the latter goods. Correct. Of course, subsidies have to be given because the producers of basic essentials have to be paid far more, if they want to cover their production costs and make a profit, than the retail prices. Correct.

A proposal for change: The prices of basic essentials should be raised and those of other goods lowered accordingly. The advantage: The current waste of bread, water, of energy would doubtless cease, as people would pay more attention to their consumption. However: Would not the standard of living of our pensioners and unskilled workers be reduced? Of course it would, and we do not want to allow that under any circumstances.

A second proposal for change: The same as the first—but at the same time the pensions, wages, and salaries of the lowest paid should at the same time be raised in accordance with the rise in the price of basic essentials. Then some of the subsidies paid so far would be lost to the rise in wages and salaries, but; first, a partial gain would remain for the state from the price rises which the better off would pay in full and the anti-waste effect would probably remain effective for everyone. Correct.

Indeed, from the position of logic and economics nothing can be raised against this argument—apart from an argument from the great Marx and Engels, which Lenin also pointed out: Practice is infinitely more rich and complicated than theory. Our experience in the socialist countries: Everywhere where price stability has been given up, even when linked to an increase in pensions and lower wages and salaries, the less well-off groups in society have become poorer. Such a plausibly presented theory has never worked in practice. Nowhere in the world. Should we take the risk that it would also go wrong here? No. A thousands times no. [passage omitted]

Stoph Speaks on 1989 National Economic Plan

AU2012190188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 88 pp 3-4

["Speech by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, substantiating the draft law on the 1989 national economic plan" given at the People's Chamber session in Berlin on 14 December: "With the Plan We Continue the Policy of Social Security and Full Employment"]

[Text] Esteemed Deputies:

With justified pride the citizens of our socialist state are proceeding onward to the 40th anniversary of the GDR. Under the leadership of the party, of the workers class, important results have been achieved in the economic and social development of our country in consistently implementing the main task. In his guiding speech at the Seventh SED Central Committee Session, which has met with widespread agreement among our people, the general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, drew up a balance sheet of our successful way and outlined the next tasks we are facing. As he said, the national economic development, as the central field of our social policy, is characterized by dynamism, stability, rising quality, and efficiency. "The increasing economic capacity of our country is a solid foundation for the rising standard of living, for social security, full employment, a high level of education, and free health care."

Contents and Targets of the 1989 Plan Are Determined by the Economic Strategy

We are purposefully continuing this tested course. The economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, which was decided by the 11th SED Congress, is the guideline for the 1989 National Economic Plan and determines its contents and its targets. With it all fields of the national economy receive demanding tasks for further stable and dynamic economic growth and a rising contribution to the national income. More than ever before, it is necessary to consolidate and deepen the awareness that only

things which have been produced previously can be consumed. Therefore, it is a task of utmost political importance to mobilize the available performance reserves in all areas of our national economy and to orient them toward producing a greater distributable final product with the lowest possible input and the highest possible quality.

The discussions about the draft plans in the combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions were based on the will and the readiness of the workers, cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, and all other working people to make high performances every day to strengthen the GDR and safeguard peace. More than 5.6 million working people participated in the discussion and, with their 630,000 proposals, they essentially contributed to the fact that today the supreme people's representation is presented with a draft law on the 1989 National Economic Plan, which sets high and real performance targets.

The members of the FDGB, the FDJ, and the Chamber of Technology have a great share in improving the draft plans. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I would like to warmly thank all working people who actively participated in the plan discussion. Our thanks also go to the managers and employees in the state and economic organs, who have done comprehensive and intensive work.

Now the efforts have to be concentrated on ensuring a smooth start of the plan everywhere. For this purpose, it is to be ensured that the plans of the ministries, combines, and enterprises fully correspond to the targets of the law on the 1989 National Economic Plan.

Until the last day of the year, one has to struggle for the overall fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the 1988 plan, in order to establish good preconditions for the start in the new year. It is particularly necessary to continuously reach the planned performances per work day and to further increase them with a view to the higher level necessary in 1989.

Esteemed deputies, it corresponds to the humanistic nature of our state, to its historical responsibility, and geographical location at the border line between socialism and capitalism, to do everything in its foreign policy in order to make peace, disarmament, detente, and mutually beneficial cooperation between the states and peoples the daily norms of international relations. Today we can note that, thanks to the efforts of the socialist states, the Nonaligned Movement, the broad world public, and the realism of various state and political circles in Western countries, progress has been made in reducing the danger of war and a change from confrontation to detente has been started. On the basis of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, an entire category of top modern nuclear weapons is being destroyed—a process which seemed to be inconceivable not such a long time ago.

The GDR Advocates With Determination a World Without War and Violence

Political dialogue has become daily, practical policy and yields encouraging results. Hope-inspiring efforts have been started to settle regional conflicts peacefully.

In short: The policy of reason and realism is increasingly becoming an effective factor in world policy, which no one can ignore. The insight that in the nuclear age security cannot be achieved by working against each other but only by working together is growing. All problems, no matter how complicated they may be, have to be solved exclusively with political means and by taking into consideration the legitimate interests of the parties involved.

The GDR has contributed to the encouraging development with many initiatives and with its predictable and constructive policy. Here I would like to particularly stress the great personal contribution made by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to detente and the preservation of peace.

The GDR will continue to advocate with determination a world without war and violence that is based on a comprehensive system of world peace and international security. In this connection, it keeps in mind that the international situation remains complicated and contradictory. New successes will be achieved only if the other side is as ready for understanding as we are.

The opponents of disarmament and detente leave nothing undone to delay and hamper the initiated change for improving international relations. For the GDR the indestructible alliance with the USSR, the firm roots in the community of socialist states, remains the basic precondition and the source of strength for further development. Today every socialist country—in line with its specific national and international conditions—is making an active contribution to the weight of world socialism, its peace offensive, its attraction, and attractiveness. We highly value these common points in our efforts. Correspondingly, we will consistently continue the policy of the 11th SED Congress and in this process evaluate the experiences of the building of socialism in other countries.

We sincerely wish our Soviet comrades success in implementing the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Conference. The USSR's initiative-rich work for the safeguarding of peace and the improvement of the international situation is greatly appreciated. The latest working meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev was a political event of great importance for the further deepening of the friendly affinity and the expansion of the close overall cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

New Stage of Cooperation With the USSR

The concurring views of our parties and states on the fundamental questions of foreign policy and the building of socialism are a solid basis for the fulfillment of the tasks that we are facing. The visit and its results constitute the beginning of a new stage of cooperation between the national economies of the two countries. The Council of Ministers has set the tasks resulting from the working visit for the ministries and combines for the further deepening of scientific-technological and economic cooperation. They are part of the 1989 National Economic Plan.

At the latest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the deliberations of the defense and foreign ministers, the GDR and its allies affirmed the view to use the achievements reached with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles of the USSR and the United States for new specific steps to reduce military confrontation. The issue is, in particular, the 50-percent reduction of the strategic nuclear arms potentials of the USSR and the United States while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, the gradual cessation of all nuclear tests, the ban and destruction of all chemical weapons, the drastic reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and the expansion of confidence-building measures and security.

Not To Permit a Break on the Way Toward Disarmament

The Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces by 500,000 men over the next 2 years and to substantially reduce its conventional armaments, which was announced by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d session of the UN General Assembly, is of truly historic significance. In coordination with the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic, six tank divisions will be withdrawn from these countries and will be disbanded. The Soviet troops stationed in these countries will be reduced by 50,000 men and conventional armaments will be reduced considerably. With this, the Soviet Union and its allies are again making important advance-moves to safeguard international security and to consolidate peace. These moves are aimed at not permitting a break on the way toward disarmament.

We emphatically call for including the tactical nuclear weapons that still remain in Europe in the disarmament process and for preventing their modernization. In principle, we support the view that disarmament has to be continued for all kinds of weapons under strict control and the observance of the principle of equality and equal security. The GDR will continue to make its contribution to this.

In this connection, we also feel encouraged by the course and results of the Berlin meeting on nuclear-free zones. This most representative forum to date of representatives of different convictions and standpoints from all continents was evidence of how strong and unifying the concern of saving mankind from nuclear destruction is. This goal is also served by the initiatives taken by the GDR and the CSSR to establish nuclear-free and chemical-weapon-free zones and the project of a zone of trust and security in central Europe.

The GDR considers the further strengthening of the CSCE process in Europe of unchanging, great importance. Therefore, it is in favor of concluding the Vienna follow-up meeting as soon as possible with a balanced, substantive document.

Then negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments and on the agreement of further confidence-building measures and security could start. This would also open ways to cooperate in the economic, scientific, ecological, cultural, and humanitarian fields.

The GDR includes the shaping of its relations with the FRG in its policy of safeguarding peace. The basis for this remain the stipulations in the joint communique on the official visit of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in September 1987. The GDR observes its obligation to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil but only peace. After the contribution of the two German states to the conclusion of the INF Treaty, it is now necessary to support further disarmament steps so as not to endanger the achievements because of a stagnation.

In bilateral relations some things could be tackled more quickly if the FRG were to show more readiness to solve open basic political question and if it were to proceed from the strict respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference, and the consideration of mutual interests.

Friendship and cooperation on the way toward a world of political, military, and economic security characterize the relations of the GDR with the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The GDR will continue to be a reliable partner to these countries in their just struggle for national independence and equality in international economic relations. We are consistently advocating the elimination of hotbeds of conflict by means of negotiations, while taking into consideration the legitimate interests of the peoples involved.

Esteemed Deputies, the successes achieved in the alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states in the struggle for peace and international detente have been and are inseparably linked with the further strengthening of the economic capacity of all socialist countries. An important yardstick for the attractiveness of socialism

thus is also the competitiveness on the international markets. Our national economy has to live up to this standard every day and at a steadily higher level.

To Make High Technologies Effective More Comprehensively for the National Income

The draft law on the 1989 National Economic Plan before you contains a high performance and efficiency growth in order to further expand the material-technical basis of the national economy on the basis of top modern technology, to fulfill the tasks of foreign trade, to further raise the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living, and to ensure the defense capability and security of our state.

The produced national income is to rise by 4 percent, industrial goods production in the sphere of the industrial ministries by 4.2 percent, and net production in industry by 6.5 percent. For labor productivity in the sphere of the industrial ministries a growth of 6 percent and in the sphere of the Ministry of Construction a growth of 5 percent is envisaged.

The 1989 plan poses the fundamental task of making the new quality of economic growth, which especially stems from the key technologies, effective more comprehensively for raising the national income.

The yardstick is and remains to what extent we are able to provide a wide range of products and services that are in demand at home and abroad—and to do so more quickly, with lower input and higher quality, and while further improving the effective production structure. Better meeting the steadily increasing demands also requires increasing performances in research, development, technology, production, and sale. This fundamental connection results in everyone's duty to compare his demands with his own contribution.

Therefore, in all areas of the national economy the possibilities resulting from scientific-technological progress are to be utilized even better to quickly raise labor productivity and to decisively improve the efficiency of the entire reproduction process.

Over the past years the GDR has proved that it is able to keep up with the international pace of development of productive forces, to accomplish top-level achievements itself, and to make them effective in the economy. For 1989, too, demanding tasks will be posed in this area.

This includes the development and transferring into production of goods, for which top-level achievements are to be reached by means of a close connection of microelectronics with machine building, such as

—electronically controlled flat knitting machines in the Textima Combine;
—machines for sheet-fed offset rotary printing in the Printing Combine;
—and technologies and methods of flexible mechanization and automation in the manufacture of clothing.

In 1988 a number of important results were achieved through joint efforts of combines and Academy and university institutes in the fields of the high technologies.

In this connection, the following achievements have to be stressed:

—computer-aided design of large-scale integrated circuits and the establishment of production conditions for the 1-megabit storage circuit;
—the development of systems for quick digital image processing and three-dimensional computer graphics;
—the use of laser technology for, among other things, metal processing and surface refinement;
—the expansion of the range of optoelectronic components.

These outstanding achievements encourage us to expand research cooperation between the combines and the institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences and the universities and to purposefully use it to reach further breakthroughs in the field of key technologies.

Next year the process of renewal and structural changes in production is to be continued purposefully and to be accelerated in important fields. The tasks linked with this are to be fulfilled very consistently and responsibly in the combines and ministries. Every decision must be based on exact economic calculations. The Council of Ministers expects that the directors general and ministers will be at the front of the changes that are so important for the efficiency of our national economy.

The 1989 plan envisages raising the production of newly developed goods in the national economy by M6.7 billion and the increase of production with the "Q" quality mark to M119.4 billion. The product structure is to be shaped in such a way that it always corresponds to the demand at home and for exports and lives up to the demands for high quality and low cost.

M76 Billion for Investments

In 1989 investment means amounting to M76 billion will be available to strengthen the material-technical basis of the national economy. In order to ensure the necessary performance increase, these means are to be concentrated primarily on the sectors of material production; 57 percent of the investments will be made in industry. For 1989 a separate investment state plan was worked out for the first time in close connection with the science and technology state plan. The approximately 300 projects of this plan component are of comprehensive national economic importance to the implementation of the economic strategy, which was decided by the 11th SED Congress. With them, the material-technical

conditions for a high growth of the national income and the proportionate development of the national economy according to plan are to be established.

Next year investments will be primarily concentrated on the implementation of projects for the broad development and application of the key technologies, the expansion of the coal and energy sector, including the use of nuclear energy, the raising of export power, the further improvement of working and living conditions, and on environmental protection measures.

Particular attention is to be paid to the 59 projects that are to be put into service in honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. By implementing these projects, considerable national economic effects are to be accomplished in the subcontractor industries, with regard to consumer goods, and for exports.

The rights of self-financing and the use of investment means given to the combines are to be applied in a responsible way so that next year the efficiency of the entire investments will be raised tangibly and the state and plan discipline will be consolidated.

Efficient and Economical Use of Funds

One of the fundamental goals of the 1989 National Economic Plan is the decisive reduction of production input. No area is exempt from this. Today more than ever before, the efficient and economical use of the available funds as a principle of economical socialist management is a characteristic of a good manager. In particular the key technologies are to be used even more effectively to save work time, raw materials, and other materials in amounts that have an effect on the national economy. Production, stock management, transportation, and cooperation has to be organized in such a way that there are no sources of loss. The struggle against wasting labor and material because of production that does not correspond to the contracts and against spoils and refinishing work as a result of insufficient quality has to be further intensified.

The experiences of the past year show that there are still considerable reserves in this respect. The expenditure for management and administration is to be further reduced. In industry prime costs are to be reduced by 1.3 percent, including a reduction of material costs by 1.5 percent.

In 1989 we will continue the tested line of making the reduction of unit production input a main source of the accelerated growth of the national income. The unit input of rolled steel is to be reduced by 6.5 percent in the metal processing industry and by 4.5 percent in the construction sector. The utilization of 34.3 million tonnes of secondary raw materials form a firm part of the plan. The increasing use of such waste products as slag, sludge, lye, ash, flue gas, and waste water is to make an increasing contribution to the raw material base of the national economy.

The challenges in the field of environmental protection are closely connected with the development of our economy's efficiency. Within the framework of modernizing and reconstructing production plants, the GDR is undertaking great efforts to use natural resources economically and to recycle waste products in order to reduce the burden on the environment. This refers particularly to lowering the emission of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. We will strictly adhere to the obligations contained in the corresponding agreements that we accepted. The 1989 National Economic Plan provides considerable means for these tasks. Particular attention is to paid to clean water and the supply of drinking water on an adequate qualitative level.

Esteemed Deputies:
The present draft law contains great challenges in all fields.

The coal and energy sector has to supply the population and the economy with electric energy, gas, heat, and solid fuel with stability and reliability at all times. This requires the production of 317.1 tonnes of raw brown coal. The generation of electric energy is to be increased by new capacities of 1,000 megawatts in the Jaenschwalde brown coal power plant, the Nord nuclear power plant, and the Karl-Marx-Stadt combined heating and power station, to a new total of 121.4 billion megawatt hours. The stable production of 8,239 million cubic meter of city gas and 52.2 million tonnes of briquettes and fuel dust have to be ensured by reconstruction measures in the Black Pump Gas Combine. The measures for reconstructing and modernizing energy production plants will be consistently continued in 1989 with the further reconstruction in the Luebbenau power plant as well as with the implementation of the comprehensive program of repairing power plants.

Decreasing Expenditure by Increased Surface Treatment

The 1989 plan contains specific savings of energy sources of the equivalent of some 19 million tonnes of raw brown coal.

All consumers share great responsibility in ensuring that the quota of energy sources will be strictly respected and all possibilities of an economical use of energy will be fully utilized.

The working people in the metallurgical sector have the task of consistently supplying the consumers with refined metallurgical products in an adequate range.

The mass-performance ratio of metallurgical products is to continue to improve on this basis. The proportion of refined rolled steel in the total production of rolled steel will be increased from 85 percent in 1988 to 88.2 percent in 1989. By refining its products to a higher degree, the chemical industry has to make a growing contribution toward enhancing economic finished products. Without a change in oil consumption, efficiency is to be increased.

The share of light products will be increased to 73 percent next year from 70 percent in 1988. The installations for the deeper cracking of oil in the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine have to be extended. The measures that were initiated to modernize and stabilize particularly the Bitterfeld and Buna Chemical Combines will be continued next year.

The chemical industry has great responsibility for providing high-quality chemical fibres for the production of popular textiles. The opening of capacities for the production of modal fibres, which has been projected for the coming year, has to be an important prerequisite. In addition, all combines in this sector will have to make a growing contribution to supplying the population with consumer goods. There are plans, for example, to increase more than average the production of car tires, color films for cameras and cinemas, as well as cosmetics.

The increase in the output of the combines and enterprises in the metalworking industry plays an important role in fulfilling the tasks of the 1989 economic plan. This is expressed in ambitious objectives. The electrical engineering and electronic fields, and those of the construction of machine tools and processing machineries will have to increase their industrial goods production to 108.8 and 108.2 percent, respectively.

Another New Increase in Microelectronics

The strengthening of our national economy has to be furthered rapidly by electrical engineering and electronics. The considerable production increase in circuits and the supply of a wide range of microelectronic components that are planned for next year, will create an important basis for the wider use of key technologies.

The production of 64 kilobyte memory circuits will be doubled as of 1989 and the demand will thus be covered by our own production. The further purposeful extension of microelectronic centers in Erfurt and Dresden will be effected in this context.

The development and production of printed circuit boards and product-related circuits and controls will have to play an increasingly important role.

It is the task of all combines to use microelectronics even more productively in order to provide the population, the economy, and export with high-quality industrial products in large numbers of units. The combines for the construction of machine tools and processing machinery have impressively highlighted the positive results in this field at the exhibition in Moscow.

Highly productive machinery with a great proportion of microelectronic components, production cells and flexible solutions for automatization have to increasingly determine the profile of the construction of machine tools. The 1989 plan contains 23 complex automatization projects, which are designed to help increase production significantly. This refers for example to products and technologies such as boilers, automated production of sheet metal components, and the production of tools based on CAD/CAM technologies. Exemplary progress in productivity and quality that reach international top levels, can be achieved with these means.

Extending the Production of Consumer Goods

The quantitative and qualitative increase of the contribution of all spheres toward streamlining and modernizing production as well as toward producing ancillary products continues to be an economic requirement. The further development and improvement of in-house production of rationalization means in the combines and enterprises continues to play an important role.

The 1989 plan sets demanding tasks for the development and production of consumer goods in order to extend the range of products for the population and to fulfill the export assignments that have already been determined.

The Ministry for Light Industry has a special responsibility in this context. The population has to be supplied with more goods by fulfilling the tasks contained in the 1989 economic plan with discipline and purposefully overfulfilling them. The production of high-quality consumer goods and the consistent fulfillment of concluded supply contracts require further perfection of the cooperation between enterprises and combines in all spheres, particularly in light industry.

High rates of increase have been fixed for the range of the 1,000 small things and in the area of spare parts, particularly for such items where the demand of the population has not been able to be fully satisfied yet.

The Council of Ministers has made a decision with which the responsibility of the bezirk-administered combines for the adequate supply of products of the 1,000 small things, will be considerably increased. By implementing this decision, the efficiency of the bezirks-administered combines has to be further increased. These combines have to be improved so that they meet their responsibility to supply the population with consumer goods to an ever higher degree.

All ministries and combines have to vigorously pursue the adequate production of spare parts. It is part of the responsibility of every producer of manufactured goods to provide the necessary spare parts in order to maintain the goods he produces in operating condition.

An extension of the range of technical high-quality consumer goods is provided for corresponding to the differing requirements of the population and in line with the development of incomes.

There are plans to increase production of radio tape recorders, color television sets, and refrigerators. All enterprises and combines are requested to develop initiatives and, together with the trade unions, direct the

competition to increase the production of popular consumer goods beyond current objectives. It is the duty of the state managers to use the experiences of the best ones immediately in the areas that fall into their responsibility. With this kind of approach it will be possible to discover further reserves everywhere.

More attention will certainly have to be paid to the quality of consumer goods. Faulty work, which causes considerable loss rates, unjustifiable need for spare parts, overburdening of the working people, long waiting times, and annoyance of customers must once and for all belong to the past.

There are excellent initiatives for ensuring high quality of production. Kahla United China Factories VEB is one of those enterprises that operates in an exemplary manner according to the principle of faultless production. It is a pacemaker for all enterprises of the Fine Ceramics Combine VEB, where as many as one out of every two working people in the production work according to this principle.

The Oelsnitz Half Moon Carpet Works VEB has carried the title "Enterprise of Outstanding Quality Work." The basis for its continuing success are well-working quality circles and a comprehensive system for ensuring quality. The ministers and director generals are requested to more purposefully use the progressive experiences of good quality work over many years in their spheres and to make them the yardstick for the work of all.

Esteemed Deputies:

Agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry have to continue to ensure the population a stable supply of foodstuffs and the industry with raw materials on a high level. Grain production is to achieve at least 11.6 million tonnes. The plan contains an increase in the production of vegetables to 1.6 million tonnes and of fruit to 790,000 tonnes for the supply of fresh fruit and vegetables to the population and for processing.

A state procurement of more than 2.7 million tonnes of slaughter animals has to be insured in animal production.

The priority of the development of plant production continues to be the key question regarding agriculture's contribution to economic growth. Yields have to be increased, the quality of products enhanced, and a determined struggle for the reduction of losses has to take place everywhere and has to apply to all crops.

Larger Crops Through Increased Soil Fertility

All LPG's and state farms in the plant production have to attach the highest attention to increasing soil fertility. New scientific knowledge and progressive experience have to be implemented in all aspects, and existing unjustified differences in productivity have to be overcome.

This applies also to increasing the efficiency of producing vegetables in greenhouses, particularly in the first half year. The advantages of new hydroponic procedures have to be fully utilized. All measures for streamlining and reconstructing green houses have to be directed toward a more economical use of thermal energy in the use of key technologies.

The planned animal production has to be ensured by further increasing the output per animal with the number of animals staying at the same level. The scientifically founded methods of animal feeding, keeping, and reproduction have to be further perfected. New findings have to be put to practical use most rapidly.

The 1989 plan purposefully continues the measures for reconstructing and extending slaughter, processing, and cooling capacities, which were agreed upon by the Council of Ministers. This ensures the further improvement of the working conditions for the people working in these enterprises.

The chemical industry, potash industry, and machinery construction have to provide the agricultural and the foodstuffs sector with high-quality fertilizers, pesticides, as well as with machinery and equipment for the foodstuffs sector including the necessary spare parts.

With the 1989 National Economic Plan we continue to actively promote the production of agricultural products in the individual economies. The members of the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders and all other small-scale producers make a praiseworthy contribution to supplying the population with a wide range of agricultural and horticultural products during all seasons. It is the duty of the local councils to actively support the initiatives of the small-scale producers and to make sure that all of their products are taken over and used for the supply.

The national economy's supply of timber has to be ensured by the enterprises of forestry with a procurement of at least 10.8 million cubic meters. At the same time comprehensive measures for the reproduction of forests and their good condition have to be implemented as agreed upon.

Improved Housing conditions for 640,000 Citizens

The construction sector will again have to make important achievements for the implementation of the housing construction program and will thus have to find a solution to the housing question as a social problem. The 1989 National Economic Plan envisages handing over to the population a total of 212,200 newly constructed or modernized apartments and the corresponding community installations such as kindergartens, creches, schools, supermarkets, youth centers, and old-age homes.

The way our cities and villages have changed and the attractive and interesting architectural solutions that were found for buildings in the inner cities show to what extent housing construction has improved and continues to improve the citizens' living conditions.

Another 640,000 citizens will benefit from more favorable housing conditions as a result from the measures that are contained in the 1989 plan.

The construction sector has lofty goals as far as development of efficiency is concerned. Budget means for housing construction have to be used with increasing social efficiency. The local councils have to determine where housing construction has to take place and to ensure good and early preparation of the construction work.

Fixed-cycle and line-production systems and other modern technologies, especially for housing construction in inner cities, have to be applied widely and with increased effectiveness. To strengthen efforts for exemplary discipline and order on all building sites continues to be a necessity.

The Council of Ministers has made decisions in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the locally-administered building sector, especially in the field of building repairs.

All efforts concerning investment projects in the sector of industrial construction have to be directed toward carrying out projects in short periods of construction time and toward further decreasing construction expenses within a stipulated time and with adequate quality and to allow no delays in any of the projects.

Extensive means and capacities will be also used next year for implementing repair work on buildings and for maintaining valuable building stock. A total of M6.9 billion is allotted for repairs on apartment buildings alone. They have to be focused on the most critical areas in cities and kreise. We know very well that much remains to be done in this field in the coming years. Next year the working people in the building material industry are to make an important contribution with further increasing the production of building materials and prefabricated products in order to ensure that work at the building sites proceeds smoothly and that the supply of the population with consumer goods from the construction sector will be improved.

Transport Expenses Lower in 1989, Too

The transport sector faces the challenge of implementing all economically necessary shipments at home and for export with high reliability. It is proof of the working people's great responsibility in this sector when in 1989 a total of 536.2 million tonnes of all kinds of goods will have to be shipped in order to guarantee the smooth economic reproduction process.

The transport of mass products for the energy, construction, and agricultural sectors is to be carried out with high stability. The demands of all other sectors have to be met equally reliably. By the close cooperation of all those involved, by high technological discipline both in the loading and unloading sector and in the transportation means, shipping time has to be further shortened and losses have to be avoided. Specific transport expenditure is to be cut by at least 3 percent in 1989.

The works for introducing computer-aided transport chains and regimes will be systematically continued in the coming years. This method of the complex shaping of production and transport makes high economic effects possible. This is why the transport of solid fuels, which accounts for one-third of rail transport in the GDR, has to be organized that way in 1989.

Electrifying the railroads will be continued with an additional 322 km next year. The measures for stabilizing the railroad network will be consistently continued in 1989. Quite a few things can still be improved concerning rail and road transport of passengers, particularly of commuters and school children.

The Council of Ministers has made decisions on the basis of which a step-by-step improvement of bus transport will be possible as of 1989. We expect in the local councils that, together with the enterprises of motorized transportation, they will ensure that the working people can commute between their homes and workplaces punctually, fast, without long waits, and in clean vehicles.

Further Development of Trade With the USSR and the Other Socialist Fraternal Countries

The task of deepening socialist economic integration and the tasks in the area of foreign trade with the USSR and the other fraternal countries are an integral part of the 1989 National Economic Plan. Our foreign trade turnover with the USSR next year will develop as planned and in accordance with the agreements concluded. The obligations assumed by the GDR have been included in the plan, and the combines have been instructed to realize their deliveries and performance on this basis in accordance with the agreements concluded, in the proper assortment, in the proper quality, and on schedule.

In 1989, the GDR will supply engineering products to the USSR on a large scale, including modern machine tools, flexible automatic production departments, rolling mill equipment, machinery and equipment for agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, as well as chemical products and consumer goods.

On the basis of government agreements, we continue to export equipment for the production of microelectronic elements as well as modern computer and data communication technology. With these exports we secure the stable purchase of raw materials and energy resources,

machinery and equipment for industry, as well as products for the supply of the people. Regarding exports to the other socialist countries, equally ambitious targets have been set. That also is necessary in order to thereby create the relevant prerequisites for tourism between our friendly countries. The advantages of international division of labor must be utilized even more intensely, so as to achieve higher effects.

The GDR will shape trade with the nonsocialist economic area on the basis of nondiscrimination and mutual advantage next year, too. The relevant tasks have been included in the plan.

Fulfilling the export tasks requires that combines better meet the demands of international markets by changing the structure of products, and by offering products that can be sold at high profit.

That includes the task to constantly improve the level of commercial work. This requires an increasingly complex cooperation system of all those who are involved in foreign trade. The combines' scientific-technological and production potential must be utilized even more purposefully for strengthening our export power.

Combines as the "Werner Lamberz" printing machinery combine in Leipzig, the Textima combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, and the machine-tool combines "7 October" in Berlin and "Fritz Heckert" in Karl-Marx-Stadt have managed, against very tough competition, to reach good positions with their products on the international market. It is generally necessary for the engineering sector to make a higher contribution toward resolving foreign trade tasks, in accordance with its position in the national economy.

Rents, Tariffs, and Prices of Basic Necessities Remain Stable

Dear Deputies!
Increasing the national income and utilizing it in an expedient and economical way are the prerequisite for guaranteeing social security, full employment, and a material and spiritual-cultural living standard for the people, that will continue to rise next year as well. As I said earlier, we want to make a good step forward also next year in resolving the housing problem as a social problem. For this purpose, a total of M31 billion will be available. This sum has to be used responsibly, so that the best possible result will be achieved for creating good housing conditions. More attention must be given to the maintenance and modernization of residential buildings.

The 1989 plan is based on the tested policy of stable rents, rates, and prices for basic consumer goods. This is a great achievement of the workers class and all working people of the GDR and a decisive guarantee for a life in social security and protection. The important effect of this policy on the citizens' personal life becomes even clearer if one looks at the conditions in the capitalist countries. There, mass unemployment, homelessness, social cutbacks, and lack of opportunities for education for many young people are part of everyday life. There, state measures against socially weak people are recklessly carried out under the cover of so-called reforms, thus driving millions of people into new poverty. There, the poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer.

Restructuring of 300,000 Workplaces

Next year, too, in our republic we will improve the working and living conditions in the enterprises, institutions, and cooperatives according to plan. This is done in particular through newly establishing and restructuring about 300,000 workplaces in line with the most progressive results of scientific organization of labor and through the comprehensive application of the key technologies. The focal point is the reduction of work hardships for about 126,000 working people.

In 1989 the population's personal disposable income will increase further in accordance with the increasing economic performances. It is necessary to consistently enforce the principle of performance everywhere. In this spirit, the performance-oriented wage policy will be continued by introducing bonus payment in more than 1,000 enterprises for about 560,000 working people.

An important task of production and trade consists of ensuring a stable supply of basic consumer goods as a matter of course in our everyday life. Therefore, stable supply with essential and nonessential foods and beverages, in particular with fresh goods, is to be paid great attention in all regions. As you, esteemed deputies, know, the People's Chamber Trade and Supply Committee has evaluated the results achieved by Wittenberg Kreis in this field and has pointed out reserves. It is particularly necessary to develop further facilities for the production of delicatessen, to organize fresh service lines for vegetables, to establish sales outlets that are open early in the morning or late in the evening in line with the needs of shift-workers, and to further develop department stores to efficient supply centers.

The Council of Ministers will continue to support the work of the bezirk councils in this area.

In line with demand, services and repairs for the population will be increased by 4.3 percent. Shoe repairs, repairs of furniture and upholstered goods, and of camping furniture and tents are to be increased above average, since demand is not yet fully met in this respect. At the same time, the network of facilities that accept goods for repairs is to be expanded, opening times are to be made more amenable to the customers, and waiting periods are to be shortened.

The local state organs are ordered to make sure—by means of purposefully promoting the artisan producer cooperatives and private crafts—that a wide range of attractive services is offered in their region. The Council

of Ministers has adopted a decision on the further development of services and repairs for the population and of municipal services. It proceeds from further raising the responsibility of the local state organs for these important parts of the people's lives and to simultaneously improve the material-technical conditions in this field. This particularly applies to the greater supply of vehicles to municipal service enterprises and after-sales service and to the improvement in meeting the demand for important equipment needed in textile cleaning.

The further increase of the socialist health sector's capacity is a firm part of the 1989 plan and convincingly reflects the humanist character of our socialist state.

Extension of the Network of Medical Basic Care

In order to perfect basic medical care, the network of outpatient and inpatient facilities, above all in large cities and areas of industrial concentration, is being extended. For example, it is planned to create 434 medical and stomatological jobs in outpatient facilities and to complete major projects, such as the Magdeburg-Olvenstedt hospital, the reconstruction of the Berlin-Koepenick hospital, the Oehrenfeld rehabilitation center, the bed-house at the Halle-Doelau Bezirk hospital, and the warehouse of the supply depot for pharmacy and medical technology in Gotha. Next year, 8,269 new places in day-nurseries and 4,049 places in old-age and nursing homes will be provided for high-standard social care. The bezirk councils will have to make great efforts to fulfill the wishes of older citizens by creating living space that is suitable for their age.

According to our material and financial possibilities, the 1989 plan will further improve the conditions for an animated intellectual-cultural and athletic life. At the same time, it is necessary to very efficiently use the considerable means provided by the state for this sector.

The tasks of the 1989 economic plan aim at further developing the socialist educational system on a high level.

In public education it is necessary to constantly better meet the increasing requirements, particularly in order to perfect the socialist education of the youth, to guarantee a high-standard general education, as well as profound theoretical and polytechnical knowledge, for which the educational requirements of the future serve as a guideline.

To further improve teaching conditions, 2,164 classrooms and 150 school gymnasiums will be newly built or reconstructed.

The contribution of vocational training to the development of economic performance has to be further increased by the training of skilled workers and masters in all trades and fields of specialization according to the plan. It is necessary to train the future skilled workers to become conscious citizens of our socialist state who advocate the further strengthening of socialism with their hearts and their intellect, and who are able to master modern technology.

It is the task of the universities, colleges, and technical schools to train graduates who make an active and creative contribution to further shaping the developed socialist society on the basis of the policy of the party of the working class, who are equipped with the latest findings of natural sciences and the humanities, and are prepared to apply this knowledge creatively and in a committed way, for all sectors of social life.

In 1989, 49,000 university and technical school graduates, among them 14,000 in the sectors of industry and construction, 3,450 in agriculture, 12,300 in the health system, and 10,200 in the educational sector, will start their work. From the beginning onward, these cadres will have to be used for basic plan tasks.

The social working capacity's efficiency increasingly depends on the way in which new knowledge is constantly imparted to the working people in their specialty. Therefore, increasing attention has to be attached to advanced training. Here the enterprise academies, the adult education institutes, the economic advanced training institutes, and the universities and technical schools achieve creditable work. For example, on an average, every fourth working person participates in organized advanced training measures in the economy.

The tasks of the 1989 economic plan again offer the youth wide scope for creative activities. We are convinced that the youth brigade and youth research collectives will participate in leading the struggle to implement the scientific-technological progress, the introduction of new products and technologies, and the most economical use of funds. The Council of Ministers expects every leader to comprehensively promote all the initiatives of the youth, especially in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow Movement.

Our efforts, which are directed at the people's welfare, are inseparably linked with doing everything to preserve peace as man's most important asset. Therefore, it is necessary to guarantee the defense readiness and the protection and security of the socialist state at any time. The GDR will consistently fulfill the obligations it has accepted within the Warsaw Pact. The plan contains the measures necessary for this.

Esteemed deputies, the implementation of the 1989 National Economic Plan is linked with a high demand on state management and planning. It is of essential importance that every manager live up, without any restrictions, to the high political responsibility that has been placed on him.

Observing this responsibility means making the plan with all its targets and tasks the basis of one's own actions and struggling for its overall fulfillment with initiatives and dedication.

Observing this responsibility means efficiently using the working people's great experiences and intellectual potential, promoting their knowledge and skills, and motivating them to high performances. This requires a climate of comradely cooperation with the working people and their social organizations.

Observing this responsibility means efficiently using the available material funds and strictly adhering to the principle of socialist thrift.

Finally, observing this responsibility means organizing production and cooperation in such an economical and far-sighted way that high performances per workday and high-quality production can be reached continuously.

Observing this responsibility also means ensuring order, security, and discipline at every workplace, in every brigade, and in every enterprise as the principle of socialist management work. Defects in work, indifference, and lack of discipline must not be tolerated. Losses due to dysfunctions, breakdowns, and fires, which this year have considerably reduced the public wealth and caused human misery, must be reduced with determination.

With New Initiatives Toward Preparing the 40th Anniversary of Our Republic

Esteemed deputies, the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR is proof of the successful shaping of developed socialism on German soil.

The Council of Ministers is convinced that the workers, cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, and all other working people will tackle the fulfillment of the tasks set by the 1989 plan with energy and will worthily prepare the 40th anniversary of the GDR with new initiatives. In this we are relying in our tested way on the parties and organizations united in the National Front and on all social forces, and are consistently working on reaching our common goal, that is, doing everything for the welfare of the people and for the safeguarding of peace.

I ask the People's Chamber deputies to approve the draft law submitted to them.

National Assembly Deliberations Continue

Villanyi Reviews Debate

LD2112214288 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Forty-five MPs contributed to the National Assembly debate over the three submitted versions of the budget, and the fourth variation worked out on the basis of amendment proposals made by the MPs. Reflecting on the comments of a lively debate, Minister of Finance Miklos Villanyi said that this year, the Hungarian economy progressed as designated in the government programme towards creating the growing economic independence of companies. The centralization of company profits declined: The proportion centralized from company profits in 1987 was 76 per cent, as compared to the 62 per cent expected this year, and the 58 per cent envisaged for 1989.

Differentiation within the company sphere is also considerable: Of the 951 companies examined in industry, profits rose at 489, and at 304 companies profits rose by more than 50 per cent. Profits declined at 462 companies, with a greater than 50 per cent decline at 255 companies.

The minister called attention to the fact that the proposed 4 per cent special tax levied in 1989 would result in surplus revenues of 10,000 million forints. The bill, however, reduces the taxes to be imposed on companies by 16,000 forints. Mr Villanyi stressed that taxes can be reduced only simultaneously with subsidies, in other words, if the representatives require the reduction of taxes, they should also approve subsidy reduction.

Mr Villanyi approved of proposals which call to improve and extend parliamentary control over governmental work. At the same time, he noted that governing will continue to be the task of the government, and cannot be taken over by parliament.

With respect to the remarks of MPs on the large investments financed by the state, Mr Villanyi said that the government, on the request of parliament, is ready to give a detailed account on the state of large investments next year, and will also report on the implementation of the planned subsidy reduction programme.

Subsidies of the social, and the central state administration organs will be cut back by some 20 per cent next year. If subsidies are cut at a faster pace, it is considered major disturbances in management might result.

On the consolidation package plan proposed by MP Zoltan Kiraly, the minister of finance voiced the position it would be expedient to group the related measures of the government's stabilization programme and possibly complement them with proposals submitted. According to Mr Villanyi, this package should include working out an anti-inflation programme which the government will tackle early next year, and continue the subsidy reduction programme and the acceleration of the budgetary reform.

Mr Villanyi stressed that the government will do everything possible for the forint to preserve its stability of value, and that it become a convertible currency as soon as possible.

In conclusion, Mr Villanyi said that the 4th version submitted to parliament by the Plan and Budgetary Committee harmonizes with the government's budgetary reform programme, and accepts the budgetary deficit of 20,000 million forints. As the subsidy reductions included do not clash with the economic and financial policy efforts for next year, he recommended it for approval on behalf of the government.

In the following, Sandor Puskas, speaker of the Plan and Budgetary Committee, took the floor. He reported that during the intermission, the Committee discussed the proposal submitted by Zoltan Kiraly. In view of lack of time, Zoltan Kiraly and four other MPs approved the amended bill on the budget, and upheld their demand that the committee and the government examine their proposal next year.

The Plan and Budgetary Committee requested the National Assembly to approve the 4th variation it submitted (including the 4 per cent special tax). MP Ferenc Vona upheld his view that he does not agree with the reduction of council subsidies by 500 million forints, and he proposed that the sum should rather be withdrawn from sums allocated to social organizations.

Assembly MP's Air Views

LD2112183888 Budapest MTI In English 1614 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—As reported, on the second day of the December session of the Hungarian National Assembly the debate continued on the planned state budget for 1989.

Magdolna Kadar, MP Szolnok County, pointed out that given the economic plight of the country, it brings some relief that in 1988 the main economic policy targets have been met, and the social sacrifices were not in vain. Ferenc Vona, MP for Est County, warned that agricultural subsidies should not be reduced further, because it already imperils production security. He proposed a 20 per cent cut in expenditures on armed organizations and defence, and a further 20 per cent reduction in subsidies granted to social organizations. Karoly Fabian, MP for Gyor-Sopron County, also stressed the importance of curtailing expenditures, mainly those of bureaucratic institutions. Gyula Szalai, MP for Fejer County, was critical of the disproportions of distribution. He called for strengthening internal security and greater prestige to the Ministry of the Interior. Maria Csuka, MP for

Komarom County, criticized the extremely slow pace of the reduction of the red tape apparatus, while the transfer of professionals in the field to rural production spheres would in her view exert a favourable effect. She agreed that the most sensitive point of the budget is to prevent any increase in debt, but she disapproved of the rising taxes of companies serving this end.

In his contribution to the debate on the planned state budget for 1989 on the second day of the December session of the Hungarian National Assembly, Fejer County MP Miklos Horvath stressed the need for the government to consistently carry out the liquidation of inefficient companies, to make radical cuts in the administrative apparatus, and to reduce defence expenditure to a reasonable extent. Finally, the MP said that one of the submitted versions seems to serve the implementation of the declared goals. He held acceptable only the 4th version proposed by the Planning and Budget Committee, but with 3 per cent supplementary tax, instead of 4 per cent.

Zoltan Kiraly, MP for Csongrad County, who also spoke on behalf of four other MPS, took a stand for the second or fourth version, with the reservation that the supplementary tax should be 3 per cent. He also called for further cuts in the budget, and mentioned a number of specific examples. He pressed for a 50 per cent decrease in state subsidies granted to social organizations, which would mean that the envisaged sum of 4,200 million forints would drop to 2,000 million. The MP also deemed it necessary to further reduce the central red tape apparatus, with the exception of the local councils workforce which in direct contact with the population. He welcomed the planned reduction of defence expenditure, and proposed that the budget subsidy for the Hungarian Defence Federation should be considerably slashed by dismantling the central apparatus of the organization. He expressed the view that the workers' militia has already met its historic mission, and therefore the 1,043 million forints allocated to cover the militia's expenditures should be transferred to the public security institutions of the Interior Ministry, the courts and the attorney's offices.

Zoltan Kiraly next proposed to sell part of the state property, including retail trade, and place the returns at the disposal of a steering company.

Budapest MP Mrs Bozso said that the none of the government's budget plan versions is suitable to ensure conditions for accelerating restructuring, and thus implementation of the advancement scheme might come under danger. She recommended MPS not to accept any of the versions, but request the government to work out a new plan.

1989 Budget Approved

LD2112214388 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—On Wednesday evening, following the approval of the amending motions, the National Assembly approved the 1989 Budget with majority vote, with 26 votes against and 15 abstentions. The basis of the approved law is set down by the 4th variation proposed by the Plan and Budgetary Committee and supported in the debate. Accordingly, parliament enacted a law on the introduction of the 4 per cent special profit tax to be levied on companies.

Stadinger Opens Session's 3rd Day

LD2212101688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Speech opening 3d day of Hungarian National Assembly Session by National Assembly Deputy Istvan Stadinger—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: In accordance with the resolution, or agreement, reached yesterday, we will today finish deliberations on the first part of the December session. Accordingly, the agenda today will be: discussion of the draft law on the amendment to Law No 6 of 1987 on personal income tax; the draft law on the amendment to Law No 1 of 1986 on duties; discussion of the draft law on the social insurance fund and the draft law on the amendment to Law No 2 of 1975 on social insurance; discussion of the draft law on vocational training and on the vocational training fund; discussion of the draft law on foreign investments in Hungary and of the draft law on the amendment to the civil code; as well as the 10th point on the agenda—discussion of the draft law on the amendment to Law No 1 of 1976 on national defense.

Esteemed National Assembly: These agenda points, in terms of numbers, are quite considerable. However, at the same time, with the exception of the first point, there are only a few contributors. Thus, we should be able to finish today's deliberations in good time. Esteemed National Assembly, we now begin our deliberations.

Now follows discussion of the draft law on the amendment to Law No6 of 1987 on personal income tax; Dr Miklos Villanyi, comrade minister of finance, has the floor.

Villanyi Delivers Speech

LD2212102288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0803 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Finance Minister Miklos Villanyi speech at the Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly: Paragraph 35 of the Law on Personal Income Tax states that the Council of Ministers makes recommendations regarding tax rates for the following year and the limits to be employed in the draft bill on the state budget, taking into consideration changes in prices and incomes. This is the primary reason why the government is now submitting a proposal to the National Assembly regarding modifications to the tax table.

This is the second time this year that you are dealing with the Law on Personal Income Tax; on this occasion with modifying tax rates. Without evaluating how the law works, since the appropriate information will be available after tax returns are processed, under the influence of yesterday's debate there is nonetheless one aspect that I cannot now keep silent about. The tax system has helped a great deal to liven up the work of the National Assembly and towards ensuring that a larger part of the population wishes to participate in developing the state budget.

In line with the obligations set down in the law, we propose that the tax burdens be lowered, that taxes be made less progressive, and that the unevenness of the tax table be corrected. All this, naturally, must be done without unilaterally worsening the financial equilibrium, which, as yesterday's debate on the budget demonstrated, is fraught with tension.

I can report on the fulfillment of the plans to collect tax revenues—and I am glad to report—that despite the early worries, the planned revenue from personal income tax, which was set for this year at 58 billion forints, has been exceeded. As of yesterday, we have collected 59 billion forints in personal income tax.

In developing the modifications of the personal income tax for 1989, the government took as its starting point that the planned five to seven percent increase in nominal wages cannot be neutralized by the taxes; thus, it is necessary to work out a tax table which will not increase the tax burden.

We also tried to ease the extremes of the tax table. The 3 critical points in the present tax table are that the 20 percent tax rate immediately following the tax-free band is too high, the 60 percent tax rate in the highest tax band is excessive, and in the tax band for incomes between 100,000- 240,000 forints the progression is too marked.

The government is submitting two variant modifications of the tax table to the National Assembly. What they have in common is that the number of tax bands is reduced from 11 to 8 and the tax rates at the lowest and highest extremes are reduced. In variant A the lower margin is reduced from 20 percent to 18 percent; in variant B to 17 percent, while the upper limit is reduced from 60 percent to 56 percent. With that, the upper limit will approximate the enterprise profts tax.

What makes this significant is that from 1989 onwards individual entrepreneurs will come under the scope of personal income tax legislation.

It is also a significant change that the tax-free band is raised to 55,000 forints. We are proposing two modifications in the tax bands. Variant A favors those with higher incomes, while variant B favors those with annual incomes below 240,000 forints. Both variants will produce less revenue than the present tax table. In variant A the average tax burden will be reduced to 10.5 percent, while in variant B it will be reduced to 10 percent. This is opposed to the expected 12 percent this year. This tax reduction will leave the citizens with extra income of 11 to 12 billion forints. It will thus contribute to ensuring that the originally planned drop in real wages, that is—a reduction by six-seven percent, should be less, only four-five percent in 1989, as I said in my budget speech.

Pensions will remain tax free. The government proposes that since pensions will rise next year to counteract inflation, if pensioners work and receive a pension or have other taxable income, then the otherwise tax-free income should be taxed from 100,000 forints onward instead of the current 96,000 forints.

The possibility of further increasing this sum emerged in several committees, including the ad hoc commission for taxes. A decision to this effect would obviously have budgetary consequences. The calculations on pensioners who reach the tax limit of 100,000 forints are uncertain.

The Central Statistical Office has assessed the 1983 income situation of pensioners. We all know that significant shifts have occurred since then on incomes. We know that about 400,000 pensioners are now working. According to statistics, these are the ones, generally, who have higher pensions. On the basis of the little information available, if only the non-pension earnings are counted and other incomes, like letting out a room or private tutoring are not taken into consideration, the loss of tax even then exceeds 1.5 billion forints.

In the calculation, it is not possible to make a mistake regarding the amount. This would be a minimum loss of 1.5 billion forints in council revenues. Thus it would cause problems in a sphere where the National Assembly, proving this yesterday with its special vote, did not see the possibility of creating more tension. The government does not support greater concessions for incomes obtained above a pension because, on the basis of sociopolitical viewpoints, such an increase is not expedient. If resources were available we would suggest they be used to increase small pensions.

I add that the reduction of the tax rate brings the income earned on top of pensions into a more favorable light, to the same extent as the active earners.

Taking every factor into account, the planned council tax revenues of around 66.5 billion forints, without tax on interest payments, are ensured by the proposed modification of the tax table. Along with lessening the progression of the tax table and reducing tax burdens, the personal income tax environment is improved by more liberal wages management, increased overtime and pay for health care and education. As of 1989, the supplement for mine rescue work will be paid on a cost reimbursement basis and thus be tax exempt.

The large family association has proposed that the 48,000 forint income limit, ensuring tax exemption, remain unchanged. With this, additional tax revenues of some 5 billion forints will be raised, as compared to the submission. They propose that these 5 billion forints be allocated to the dependants' allowance of those with two children by reducing the tax base by 1,000 forints monthly per child. The proposal was supported by the Social and Health Affairs Committee and was rejected by the competent ad-hoc committee. Its justification, and it is true: With this, the proportion of wages, within the population's income, would further decrease. This change would put those with higher incomes into a more favorable situation. By the way, this proposal, taking into account the tax assumed to be in council revenues, can only be affixed to variant A.

In accordance with the ad hoc committee's preliminary proposal, we examined the possibility of further reducing the tax-bands, on a tax table with five rates. This would mean fewer tax revenues, by 10 billion forints, if we did not increase the tax burden of those with lower incomes. We cannot now undertake such a reorganization nor can we reorganize producers' prices and wage proportions, which would be concomitant with this.

The question arises: Is the proposed modification enough? The country awaits the answer. I know that I can only answer no. Yet can we take a bigger step? I think that several arguments favor a negative answer. We could reduce taxes to a greater extent, but then the wage increase would have to be reduced, which would amount to a stand against the justifiably wished for wage liberalization or it would be necessary to increase consumer prices or to implement a new wage increase.

The government's set intention is to further reduce further outlays, to intensify sensible thrift, and as a result of all this, we can further reduce future tax burdens. Therefore, the series of modifications on personal income tax is not concluded with today's change. As the National Assembly has taken a stand on it, at the end of the first half of next year on the basis of the experience of a complete tax year, it will be necessary to evaluate the tax reform and reply to the questions of principle and practice that have arisen, as well as work out a model for family income tax. It will also be necessary to examine the possibility of further reducing tax amonts, simultaneously with cutting back outlays, concessions. In 1989, we will return to this and to other proposals to modify the tax system.

Having said all this by way of introduction, I ask the esteemed National Assembly to discuss the proposal to amend the personal income tax law, to choose between variant A and B, and, please, to approve the law. [applause]

Grosz Addresses Miskolc Aktiv Meeting

AU2112150788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Dec 88 p 3

[Speech by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at an aktiv meeting held in the Sports Hall in Miskolc on 16 December: "Karoly Grosz: The Reform Is the Way of Creating Order"]

[Text] It has been a pleasure for me to be here in this county and in my hometown again. I would like to use this opportunity to thank you for the great moral and political support I received as premier during the organizing of the government activity. The national party conference decided to thoroughly renew Hungarian socialism. This is the most decisive issue facing our people today. Will we be able to catch up with the vanguard of the world within the foreseeable future measured by human scales, or will we fall behind? Why did life force us to analyze the situation and our tasks at a party conference?

As a result of past years and decades of development, we have exhausted the substance and opportunities of the socialist framework that emerged as an achievement of our common work in the past 4 decades. This is a natural consequence of development. Similarly, the new model that we are currently working out will also become obsolete after a while, and not be able to ensure the political, social, and economic conditions necessary for development. Did we see in time that we had exhausted our previous framework? No, we did not! The leadership is to be blamed for this. We were 10-15 years late in recognizing this and in drawing conclusions from the facts. Consequently, today, after almost 20 years, it is much more difficult to "clean house" than if we had started at the time and carried it out systematically.

We are often asked nowadays to deny these 4 decades. We will not do that because we are proud of the values we have created in these 4 decades. However, while we are proud of our achievements, we do not have the right to hide from ourselves and from the coming generation that we have made a mistake in not recognizing the need to institute changes.

As a result of the rapid technical and scientific development in the world, economic and social processes have also accelerated. However, we did not take this challenge seriously enough.

The entire socialist world has come to a crossroads. Either it continues on the previous path and its development will increasingly slow down, or it takes a sharp turn and starts applying new means and methods.

Among the reasons, it is also important that we have committed several serious mistakes in recent decades. We have allocated huge sums for inefficient investments

with a long rate of return, and thus, a considerable proportion of the values created by our nation is dead capital. We must create guarantees against any repetition of such mistakes.

We state clearly at the party conference that the socialist order is the major guarantee for attaining our goals, a socialist order based on the people's power created by the leadership of the working class, the strength of the workers-peasants alliance, and with the support of the intellectuals, on public property over a determined part of the means of production, on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, and on strengthening and developing the basic institution of our society. It very clearly follows from all this that the main direction of our political activity is to develop and modernize the activity of our existing institutions. I consider the practice used primarily by the central leadership, but also by the local leadership in many places, a mistake, namely that they have devoted much more energy in recent months to working out their relations with the alternative movements than to modernizing the activity of the existing political institutions. We should avoid such mistakes in proportions. We should primarily strengthen the political, ideological, and organizational unity of the party and we should think of how to renew the trade union movement, make the PPF movement more active, and how to better include the youth movement in solving the problems of our public life. These are the basic institutions on which we should base our renewal.

Quite correctly, great emphasis has been laid recently on the need for changes in order to achieve political stability. At the same time, we should not forget the other connection either: Political stability is inevitable for instituting the necessary changes. These changes should not lead to anarchy, but stability should not mean immobility either. This double requirement is in harmony with the desire of the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian society.

The reform is the way to achieve order, and disturbances come from a delay in implementing the reform or from improperly considered haste. We should guide this reform movement calmly, confidently, and firmly. The goal of our political enemies is to force us to act hastily. From the viewpoint of the political "end product," it makes no difference whether our mistakes derive from inability or from improperly considered exaggerated zeal. Therefore, we should not allow anyone to move us from the pace of our advance!

Considering our basic institutions, the acceleration of our National Assembly activity is the most noteworthy phenomenon. The National Assembly debates have become important domestic policy events followed by a large public interest. Therefore, it is no accident that the National Assembly has recently become one of the targets of political attacks. On the one hand, this means an increase in its prestige and requires a modernization of its activity; on the other hand, this warns us that it is our obligation to do our best to preserve the prestige of our parliament. Those people who, not long ago, claimed that this parliament was unable to fulfill its mission because it is not firm enough, claim today that our National Assembly is a Stalinist relic and irresponsible institution because the deputies do not represent the people. The party should provide maximum support for the parliament's efforts to renew itself, and the local party organizations should defend the National Assembly deputies who represent their interests and enjoy the confidence of the population. We will not allow anyone to dishevel the supreme legislative and representative body of the state.

The other important body of our political institutions, the government as a whole, is searching for development in a positive way. Government independence has increased considerably recently, and the political influence of the party has not been diminished. At the same time, there has been an increase in the role of the National Assembly in supervising the activity of the government. Government activity should be further developed to increasingly deal with strategic tasks and become a body engaged in politics.

The Armed Forces are playing an extremely important role among the institutions of power. The Armed Forces have to fulfill increasing requirements, carry out their external and internal defense functions in accordance with the prevailing political situation, and to possess the necessary means and personnel to carry out their tasks. Today, the Armed Forces are also the focus of political attacks. This is understandable because the Armed Forces are a firm means of power on which we can rely, and their possible weakening would create favorable conditions for the domestic hostile forces and greater scope for foreign efforts.

We can guarantee our country's independence only within a military alliance. However, we cannot expect other peoples to carry all the burdens connected with this task. Therefore, we are for a reduction of armed forces, and therefore, we welcomed Comrade Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations and the initiatives included in this speech. We want reduction, but not defenselessness. Therefore, we will maintain a rational financial and technical level of our Armed Forces.

I would like to say a few words here about a politically extremely important part of our Armed Forces, namely about the situation of our workers militia. Nowadays, when we are encouraging the self-organization of communities coming from below, we can fondly remember the period when the workers militia was founded. After 1956—there are many people here who remember it—the workers militia came into being as a group that was really initiated from below and voluntarily. Its creation was initiated by workers and party members who were ready to take their share in defending the people's power with arms in their hands. Thus, this organization emerged as the will of people who were thinking and

working responsibly, and this provides justification for its existence. The workers militia has become an integral part of our institutions, and has found its way into Hungarian public activity under consolidated conditions. Therefore, we will not allow the workers militia to be dismantled or to be discredited; We will not allow this collective, which is accepted voluntarily and organized from the will of the workers to be destroyed!

I would also like to speak about the activity carried out by our police force. Guarantees for public order and security are basic rights for all citizens. The strong social demand on the part of the population obliges us to guarantee this right, and so does our intention to further increase international tourism. Hungarian public security is well-renowned, even compared with international standards. We cannot allow this public security to diminish.

In the activity of the local councils, we believe it is important to strengthen their self-governing nature. This will contribute both to an increase in society's supervision over the government and to strengthening the citizens' participation in exercising power. I am convinced that local councils will also play an important and increasing role in developing socialist democracy.

The PPF and the trade unions, in the process of being renewed, are playing an outstanding role in strengthening and developing the basic institutions of our society. The alternative organizations also have a place within the PPF if they accept the basic principles of our Constitution, that is—if they want socialism. The PPF is the organizational framework which provides opportunities for dialogue between individual communists and party organizations on the one hand, and the participants in alternative movements, on the other. Therefore, we should not miss this opportunity, but should make use of it.

I would like to say a few words about the party movement. The MSZMP considers itself to be the inheritor of two major currents, two major parties of the Hungarian workers' movement: the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party. The MSZMP wants to adopt the progressive elements from the traditions of both parties. Why do I stress this? Because recently it has come to our attention officially that the Hungarian Party of Social Democrats has been established. Recently, we have also heard that the Hungarian Party of Communists has been formed. The fact that some people are forming such parties and party groups does not trouble us. However, I would like to say one thing. It would jeopardize the future of socialism, and subsequently the future of the Hungarian nation if the Hungarian working class were again to split into two parts. We cannot allow the united party created in 1948 to be taken apart, thus dividing the most solid class of our society and the most solid basis of socialism, the working class.

As for the unity of the party, ideological unity should be based on Marxism-Leninism, and political unity should be based on the positions of the national party conference. The party must struggle for political unity daily, and should strive toward a unity of diversity, rather than toward the concept of a monolithic unity.

As for the issue of power, our political opponents strive for power-sharing and then for taking power. This has its logic. A political force does not want to play second fiddle once it shares power, but wants to obtain full power afterwards. We do not want to share power. We want to include various forces in exercising power. We see pluralism, diversity, and the emergence and existence of various interests as acceptable not against socialism, but in the benefit of socialism.

There is also dispute on the issue of a multiparty system. Is the current domestic political situation suitable for a multiparty system in Hungary today? This is the question we must answer! A period preceding a crisis, or a period of a way out of a crisis is hardly the most ideal time for developing a multiparty practice. Not because the people would leave the MSZMP, but because a multiparty system automatically leads to party struggles that use up precious energy needed today for socialist construction and for avoiding a crisis! In our view, socialism can be built under the conditions of a one-party system. At the same time, if we want a constitutional state, we cannot deny the right of others to form parties, people who also want socialism, only differently.

At the often mentioned Budapest party aktiv meeting, I said that the party is a historical value. I continue to believe in this. Our party is a historical and national value first of all for our people, a value that we should neither disregard nor leave unused. What do we regard as values? Its organizational order, first of all. Second, its relations. This party has broad relations with the masses: Millions of people support it. This party has a great political culture, and the country needs this now. We also regard its work style as a value, a work style that, ever since 1956, has always developed in the spirit of democratism, albeit not steadily; the treasure of its experiences, its readiness for renewal, its revolutionary spirit, its responsiveness to reform, as well as its tolerance of conflicts and capacity of creating compromises are all considered to be values. Last, but not least, I will mention here national responsibility and international commitment as values of the MSZMP which a nation cannot give up if it wants to remain in the vanguard of progress. Therefore, we must continue to work by preserving and renewing all these values, and then the party will, no doubt, continue to be the driving force in our society.

We should clearly formulate our goals: a humane and classless society; our people's material, moral, and cultural progress; the discovery and increase of national values; the founding, consolidation, and development of our national self-esteem; a modern community life in

which all individual qualities can develop freely. Thus, we are for the development of individual freedom, a condition for the implementation of man's creative capacity, too.

What are we fighting against? We are fighting against any reversal of history. We are fighting against corruption, indolence, and envy. We are also taking a stand against the stark choices of complacency or hyperactivity, because it seems that either we do nothing, or we want to make up for decades of debt in the course of 1 week. We are also struggling against the liquidation [kiarusitas] of our ideas and efforts, and against all kinds of abuse of power. Since it has, unfortunately, become a timely issue, one must also declare that we are struggling against all manifestations of racial hatred and nationalism. We are also struggling against those who question Hungary's commitments in the alliance.

Speaking about ownership, public property will continue to prevail, and private property which becomes part of our economy under socialist conditions benefits, rather than opposes, the interests of socialism. Hungary needs foreign capital because this could help us change our production structure. However, this foreign capital is willing to flow into Hungary only under stable political conditions, and it also requires a proper infrastructure.

As for our net debt of $13 billion, we thought that the increased travel as a result of the new passport regulations would cost about $200-250 million, but this expenditure has already reached $500 million. So, this $250 million is missing. However, was it a mistake to introduce the new passport regulations? No, because a nation can place itself in the world only if it can see and get to know this world. Free travel also encourages the desire to learn foreign languages. The present situation in which a mere 5 percent of the entire adult population of our country speak foreign languages can no longer continue.

As for our economic results, our capitalist balance of payments is close to the planned one, industry is expected to lag behind its plans, and agriculture will fulfill its program. Our greatest problem is that, although it is not a short-term task, the production structure has not been changed at the desired level. Nor has production restructuring begun within our enterprises.

The market is another element of this subject matter. We have got used to a "soft market," like the domestic and the socialist markets which purchase everything because they are characterized by a shortage economy. However, our debt has accumulated in our capitalist trade, so we have to sell our products on capitalist markets. A big question is what central government is planning to use in order to encourage this preparation to adjust. Beginning with 1989, through joint decisions, we will start some courageous—and admittedly slightly dangerous—ventures. One of these is the liberalization of a considerable part of our import management. The other venture is freeing the wage management from all limitations. If an enterprise leadership is disciplined and demanding, there will be great resources in these ventures, and they can foster the improvement of our economic management. We should also create the conditions of a real capital market by developing credits and establishing a stock exchange. We should eliminate the obstacles inherent in our price mechanism by increasing the effects of market prices. We should start eliminating the bureaucratic and limiting system of economic regulations as soon as possible. In short, we would like to make the conditions of obtaining incomes more difficult and link this process to real market performances. At the same time, we would like to liberalize the spending of these incomes. This is the essence of our liberalization program. Therefore, the government should work out a venture-incentive program, with particular emphasis on providing support for small and medium-sized enterprises.

We should reduce subsidies by following the road of normative regulations. Here lies one of our major problems. The reduction of subsidies has an extremely different effect on various enterprises, as well as on various consumers. Reduction of industrial subsidies seems to be the best way. If we carry out the 30 billion forint reduction in subsidies planned for next year, there will still be enough left for the modest support of industrial enterprises. Reduction of agricultural subsidies is the most difficult task because some of our production cooperatives are already unable to bear the current high level of production expenses. Agricultural production cooperatives organized on basic activity and operating on areas of soil of unfavorable quality are unable to bear greater burdens. Subsidies for the population are the most critical point in the sphere of Hungarian economic subsidies. Real consumption should decrease by about 1 percent in 1989, and real wages should decrease by 5-6 percent in 1989, by a lesser degree than in 1988. Therefore, we cannot avoid price increases, and we cannot free the population from part of the burden even temporarily. We will try to compensate for the price increases as much as possible, and, according to our current calculations, this means that we will be able to compensate for about two-thirds of the expected price increases. One-third of the burden will be carried by the population.

Is this different from our previous program? No, it is not. Everything that we are doing now and next year is precisely formulated in the government program of September 1987. We will see to it that those individuals in the low-income bracket carry smaller burdens, but we must ask the population and the party members to support our position. Temporarily, three income recipients: The population, the enterprises, and the state budget will have to accept larger burdens in order to reach a more dynamic economic phase after 1990, including the possibility of a higher living standard. We do not ask for more work, but for more precise, better quality, and more valuable work because only this way can we progress and prosper. It is now fashionable to

complain, and there are reasons for this. Our life is more difficult and much tension has accumulated in recent decades. However, excessive demands and threats of strikes are not proper ways of solving these tensions. No country has ever become rich from strikes. The road to a nation's prosperity does not lead through strikes. I am not saying that we should not guarantee the right to strike or that it is illegal. I am only saying that it is not rational. It is not useful for the country and the people. Therefore, I think we should find other forms of easing these tensions.

A noteworthy point: It is not the workers, but the students who have been striking lately. I am not saying that they have no real cause when they formulate their demands. However, one should know that a university student costs the state 100,000 forints a year. There are several faculties that can accept only 1 out of 8-10 applicants. Would it not be better to accept the students who want to learn and not to strike?

The main condition for Hungary's progress is that everyone should do his job. This is the most solid basis of our new national consensus.

Editors of Banned Journal To Be Rehabilitated
AU2012131988 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Dec 88 p 6

[Interview with Janos Sebe, secretary in charge of ideology at the Csongrad County MSZMP committee, by Miklos Halasz: "Will the Former Editors of TISZATAJ Be Rehabilitated?—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Due to "publication policy mistakes," the journal TISZATAJ, published in Szeged, was banned in 1986, and the editors were dismissed and given party disciplinary punishment. The report submitted to the Csongrad county party conference held last week mentioned the fact that steps should be taken to rehabilitate the former editors of TISZATAJ. I spoke with Janos Sebe about the real situation.

[Halasz] The report concerning the TISZATAJ affair amounted to a sensation among intellectual circles. How should we evaluate this surprising information?

[Sebe] The new leadership regards it as its first task to eliminate certain heritages in the shortest possible time. Thus, for example, we want to end the situation in which intellectuals are kept "outside the gate."

We regard it as a major task to settle the issue of the TISZATAJ. I would like to inform the readers that this journal was banned and its editorial staff completely reorganized on the basis of a central decision made in 1986. According to this decision, the journal was to stop appearing for 6 months or until completely reorganized. [passage omitted]

[Halasz] What is the situation now?

[Sebe] Prior to the county party conference, 53 nationally known scientists, writers, and artists wrote a letter to the county party committee first secretary and requested the complete rehabilitation of the former heads of the TISZATAJ and the restoration of the original concepts. [passage omitted]

How is one to make progress in this inherited unpleasant situation? First of all, we will encourage the council to find a solution which, on the one hand, will enable the return of the old guard to the journal, and, on the other hand, will also ensure the participation of new people in the staff. [passage omitted]

Newspaper Subscriptions Decline After Price Hike
LD1912151588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 19 Dec 88

[From the Press Review]

[Summary] Following the increase in newspaper prices approximately 75 per cent of subscriptions are estimated to be withdrawn. According to detailed reports from Nograd County there have been long lines in front of post offices everywhere. People are anxious to withdraw their subscriptions as soon as possible. The authorities say this will of course take time, although the withdrawals are already in the computer system. As estimated 40-60 per cent of subscribers is likely to withdraw; in Eger, for instance, 102 of 391 customers have already withdrawn.

Various county newspaper departments report that many subscribers in their first anger withdrew subscriptions for weekly and illustrated magazines as well. An increasing number seem to be abandoning NEPSPORT and RADIOUJSAG.

There is no change in the numbers wanting to read MAGYAR NEMZET and MAGYAR HIRLAP. SZABADFOLD and REFORM are still on the increase.

Szuros on Minorities, Romanian Ties
LD2212101788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Interview granted by Matyas Szuros, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, to correspondent Tamas Forro on 21 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Forro] I wonder if what is happening in central East Europe has played a part in the fact that the pope has designated, chosen, 1989 as the Year of the Minorities?

[Szuros] With every certainty the pope, or the Vatican, has taken into consideration the viewpoints, circumstances, which preoccupy the nationalities, more correctly, those among the nationalities, for example those

Hungarians who essentially live in their ancient lands. Therefore, the situation of the nationalities living in our direct vicinity is evidently one of the viewpoints which led the pope to formulate this message. As far as I know the cardinal who conducted the press conference on 9 December, in answer to a question, said that the situation of the Hungarian nationality, or rather the offense caused to the Hungarian nationality, was one of the viewpoints which had led the pope, among other things, to move that we consecrate 1 January 1989 to the rights, the situation, of the nationalities.

[Forro] Has there been any change in recent weeks in Romanian-Hungarian relations?

[Szuros] Unfortunately no. No essential change has occurred. As we have stressed, we have made everything public, everything we do or plan concerning Hungarian-Romanian relations, so that the country and the entire world should see and know our standpoint, our plans. But nothing has happened. We always stress that it is not with the Romanian people that we have trouble, but with certain features of Romanian policies. One positive thing perhaps is that economic relations are developing well. The volume of Hungarian-Romanian economic relations could increase this year by as much as 17 percent, the highest rate, or growth rate, among the socialist countries. This in itself is a considerable achievement, but perhaps Hungarian public opinion is also aware that the Romanian president, state president, recently made a speech to the effect that in Romania the nationalities issue has been finally settled. In this kind of situation it is very difficult to know what one can do.

Varkonyi Discusses Recent Far East Trip

AU2212113188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi by Peter G. Feher: "Hungary Is Adjusting to the International Political and Economic Realities"—date and place not given]

[Text] Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi recently visited Malaysia, the Philippines, and the PRC. We asked the head of Hungarian diplomacy about the experiences and results of his trip.

[Feher] This has been your second trip to the Far East within a year. Previously, Hungarian diplomacy seemed to have been neglecting this area. Was it really necessary to wait that long to have favorable conditions for lasting cooperation between Hungary and the countries in this region?

[Varkonyi] Hungary conducted an active foreign policy before, too, but it is a fact that we were most active in areas where our national interests justified it and where we could do most to guarantee Hungary's development and its more favorable international evaluation. Obviously, this place is Europe, because we have the strongest ties with this continent. However, the favorable international processes emerging in the middle of the eighties and the increase in Asia's political and economic weight have not only enabled us, but also made it necessary for us to open up toward this region and, along with a high-level political dialogue, also to demonstrate our readiness to develop our bilateral economic cooperation. My recent trip to the PRC and to the other two fast developing ASEAN countries also served this purpose.

[Feher] Do the repeated visits to the Far East by various Hungarian leaders mean that some sort of "change in emphasis" is under way in Hungarian foreign policy, naturally while respecting our alliance commitments?

[Varkonyi] As I have already mentioned, our foreign and economic policies continue to focus on Europe. However, it is expedient to notice the changes and the large-scale economic development that have emerged in that region in the past decade. These processes demonstrate a very high capacity for development and represent potential opportunities for our open economy. In other words, we are taking the international political and economic realities into consideration and are adjusting to them, and, according to our possibilities, we are also applying economic solutions that are suitable for us.

[Feher] During your visit to Beijing, opinions were voiced according to which, after 4 decades, and breaking with the practice of acting always "in concert with a big power," Hungarian diplomacy has taken the road of complete opening. Do your talks and their results justify this interpretation?

[Varkonyi] Irrespective of our talks in the PRC, we have repeatedly proven that we carry out our foreign policy activity within an alliance system, coordinating the main trends of this activity with our allies, but also considering our particular national interests. During my talks in Beijing, which were held in an extremely good and open atmosphere, the Chinese leaders assured me that they are well aware of our foreign policy efforts and support our steps both in further developing our bilateral relations and in promoting international detente. Of course, Hungary is a small country, and its conditions are far from being identical with those of a socialist big power like the PRC, but we are convinced that we can play a role in developing and maintaining a multilateral dialogue that equally affects the interests of all countries.

[Feher] As a result of your talks in China, do you see any hopes for the Hungarian enterprises to increasingly participate in developing the Chinese economy and for Hungarian goods to penetrate the Chinese market to a much greater extent than hitherto?

[Varkonyi] As is well known, in China, I basically met with political leaders who, like us, voiced their principled readiness for a multilateral development of our

bilateral relations. I have to mention here that, concerning concrete business agreements, the level of our economic relations has somewhat decreased in recent years. In our simple exchange of goods, we have been unable to adequately fulfill each other's demands, and our more complex forms of cooperation and our relations with the various Chinese provinces are still in their initial stages. We should search for a way to progress probably in the latter, namely, in developing the modern forms of cooperation.

[Feher] According to the original plan, you were also supposed to visit the DPRK during your current trip in the region, but this visit was canceled. In your view, to what extent have our relations with the DPRK deteriorated as a consequence of the well-known events?

[Varkonyi] We definitely do not desire a deterioration in the relations between the two friendly socialist countries. We evaluate the recent events differently. We think that our steps toward the ROK are not intended against anyone but reflect the recognition of international realities and contribute to strengthening peace and international detente, and to the process of reunification of the Korean Peninsula. We are convinced that the well-known reactions and measures of the DPRK will prove to be temporary in the history of more than 4 decades of friendly relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the DPRK.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-17 Dec

AU2212124788 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian report the following public appearances of Hungarian leaders during the 1-17 December period (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG Hungarian sourceline of each report is given in parentheses):

Rezso Nyers, MSZMP Politburo member and minister of state, paid a visit to Kispest District of Budapest and held talks with the district party leaders on 16 December. (17 Dec 88 p 5)

Imre Pozsgay, MSZMP Politburo member and minister of state, participated and took the floor at the Bacs-Kiskun County party conference held on 17 December. (19 Dec 88 p 5)

Istvan Szabo, MSZMP Politburo member, chairman of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, paid a visit to Hajdu-Bihar County on 2 December. (3 Dec 88 p 4)

Istvan Szabo, MSZMP Politburo member, also paid a visit to the Kobanya District of Budapest and held talks with district party leaders on 16 December. (17 Dec 88 p 5)

Lenard Pal, MSZMP Central Committee secretary, paid a visit to the Hungarian optical works on 1 December. (2 Dec 88 p 5)

10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum Continues

Leadership Changes Made

LD2112192088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1855 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] [Correspondent] There have been changes in the highest PZPR political leadership. The following have been recalled from the post of Politburo member: Jozef Baryla, Jan Glowczyk, Zbigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski, Zofia Stepien, and Zygmunt Muranski. From the post of Central Committee secretary [the following have been recalled] Andrzej Wasilewski, Jan Glowczyk, Kazimierz Cypryniak, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

The ninth plenum has elected new members to the PZPR Central Committee. Chosen were: Zymunt Czarzasty, Marek Jozefiak, (Edyta Korepta), (Roman Kupijaj), Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, Leszek Miller, (Witold Cyrkosz), Janusz Rejkowski and Marian Stepien.

The results of the election to the Politburo of members, candidate members and of Central Committee secretaries was also announced a moment ago: Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary: Stanislaw Ciosek; Politburo members: Gabriela Rembisz, Kazimierz Cypryniak, Iwona Lubowska, Zdzislaw Swiatek, Witold Pyrkosz [Warsaw PAP in English at 1949 GMT on 21 December 1988 gives Pyrkosz' first name as Wiktor], Janusz Rejkowski, Zbigniew Michalek; candidate Politburo members: Marek Holdakowski, Zbigniew Sopotka and Zdzislaw Balicki; Central Committee secretaries: Zygmunt Czarzasty, Leszek Miller, and Professor Marian Stepien.

And First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski is congratulating the newly elected officials.

Jaruzelski Congratulates Officials

LD2112194988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Speech by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski congratulating newly elected PZPR officials at the PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw on 21 December—live]

[Text] I wish you success in performing your duty, and all that is best. [applause]

Comrades, to mark the anniversary of the unification of the Polish workers movement we would like to present commemorative medals marking the 40th PZPR anniversary to those members of the Central Committee, the supreme party authority, who joined the party before the unification congress. Let this symbolic act be an expression of respect and appreciation for comrades who from early youth permanently bound their fate to that of our party and participated in the party ranks in constructing socialist Poland.

Today, when we look forward to the future we will not forget about the past. We pay homage to those who fought for our cause, people who gave their minds and hearts, and worked for the party from the moment of its origin, and who still continue to serve it.

Dear comrades please accept thanks for your long service, and wishes for success in your work and personal life. Please come forward to the rostrum so that we can present you with medals.

Another piece of working information addressed to the newly-elected members of the party leadership, because they are in the hall, they are in the Presidium: 30 minutes after our deliberations have ended today, a press conference is scheduled, to which the newly-elected comrades to the party leadership are invited. That conference will be held in Room 516 in this building. I would ask you, comrades, to be present and to talk to the journalists. Comrades will permit me to take the floor.

Jaruzelski Concluding Speech

LD2112205488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Concluding speech by First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski to the PZPR Central Committee plenum on 21 December in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Dear comrades! The first part of our deliberations has come to an end. The discussion confirmed the importance of the present moment. There will be time for a full summing-up of the achievements of the 10th plenum half way through January, at the second, closing part of our meeting. One must express the hope that, despite the holiday period, there will be no break in party thinking. Permit me to conclude this part of our deliberations by making several comments in light of our discussion so far. The proposals for restructuring submitted by the Politburo, for injecting energy into party work, have met with understanding and support from the Central Committee's members. Cadre decisions have also been taken.

To comrades who are leaving the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, on behalf of the present party leadership I express cordial thanks for their work, for everthing they did for our common cause; at the same time I wish them further fruitful work for the good of the party, and socialist Poland. [applause]

So it is that life itself, its needs and challenges, dictate unavoidable and indispensable changes—this is the base for the continuity and durability of our party.

Comrades, we must see and assess realistically; 14 million Poles have no personal recollection or link with 1948, and nearly 8 million have no link with 1956. This is forcing us to use a totally different type of argument from that used for many years. To contemporary people

one must talk about contemporary issues using contemporary language. I hope that at the plenum we managed to do this to a considerable extent.

We will never break away from our political and social roots, from the Poland which the workers movement, the peasant left wing, and the progressive intelligentsia created. However, today the most important thing is what we wish to convey to the generations which will take over the helm of Polish fate on the threshold of the next century.

We wish, first of all, to convey to them the truth, because it is truth which is most often a victim of various lies and manipulations. We don't even have to recall the living conditions in Polish villages in the interwar period, or the over 30,000 political prisoners in 1938, or the victims of the May coup. Let us look, as today, in front of our eyes, human minds are being shaped, often with passive attitude toward us. For example we hear time and again that socialism has not proved itself; that it is incapable of reform; that we have entered a dead end. Allegedly the only natural state for humanity should be a capitalist model for social life.

No one ever mentioned that these arguments apply to more or less 8 to 10 percent of the world's capitalist formation. One hundred percent of illiterates in the contemporary world live in that formation, and not in our system. One can learn from today's TRYBUNA LUDU, that every year 14 million little children die of hunger, much more than one third of Poland's population.

And where does this happen? In any of the socialist countries? Recently, the example of some states has been cited with relish—the so-called Asiatic tigers—which in recent years have achieved fantastic indices of economic progress. There are no obstacles to their success being repeated in Poland. It is enough to liquidate the legal limitation to working hours; cut holidays radically; lift the ban on employing juveniles; renounce all state forms of social welfare and social benefits; drive the trade unions to the fringe of social life; liquidate subsidies for culture and in a few years, Poland, too, can be just such a tiger. It is hardly ever pointed out that the most developed countries in the modern world are characterized by a particularly high degree of social discipline. Everywhere where different disputes or a low political culture dominate, no important civilizational-industrial successes can be noted. It would therefore be naive to admit that struggle of a class nature has already finished in Poland. It is just taking on different forms. We have to adapt them and above all not lose heart when dusty knick-knacks are taken out of the lumber-room and praised like attractive goods in the bazaar.

A few days ago, a young journalist said vehemently that it would be a tragedy if the 10th plenum didn't meet public expectations. Youth has its rights. We long-term party members understand tragedy differently, as a result of specific experiences in the distant and more recent past. In our conditions, Polish misfortune can be something else: Waiting for a miracle, which will fill our shops overnight, strengthen the zloty, change Poland into a land of roast pigeons [of plenty]; and above all, it would be a real Polish tragedy if our declarations failed to coincide with actions.

The problems of national accord were also taken up in the discussion and ipso facto the fate of the roundtable. We are capable of appreciating every constructive note. May it turn out to be unambiguous and lasting. On the other hand, however, there are still many reasons for doubts and fears.

In this situation, further delay harms the country's interests. It also discredits us in the eyes of foreign observers, gradually confirming the view that, even in a historic moment of breakthrough, we are not capable of businesslike, constructive dialogue. One can set up any governments-in-exile and national shadow cabinets one pleases; one can play at squaring the circle; but a true accord of Poles is a matter of supreme importance. Our party is firmly and sincerely in favor of it. This does not mean that a great piece of parchment has to be signed one day, with the slogan "Let Us Love One Another." We need a compromise, an agreement and a coordination on basic issues, which will enable the reconciliation of what is feasible and really essential with what has been announced and postulated. The party, its coalition allies, the people's authorities unalterably send their offer to all spokesmen for this responsible approach. They notice at the same time that among the innumerable calls for democracy, pluralism, independence [podmiotowosc], identity and so on, there has never yet been a call for normal, honest work. On the contrary, in fact: There are frequent excuses for abuses, laziness, theft, as if to say that people have no other way out. Several years of this kind of thinking can do Poland more harm than many a foreign invasion.

Comrades! In the course of our discussion, varied views and standpoints have appeared. This is understandable and normal, especially since we are dealing with a fundamental turnaround in the party's fulfilling of its role in the system of government. For many years, the party was a sort of super-office. Its style of action; the timetable for the working day and week was therefore inherited by us from a completely different political and social situation.

It is high time this was changed. The reform relates not only to economic mechanisms, above all it necessitates transforming human consciousness. We must become the main promoters of this work. As a party we must transform ourselves to cope with everything: On the one hand to be a creative agent, an inspirer, and on the other hand to express social control [as heard] and the evaluation of this complicated, multifaceted process.

The structure of the party depends on its tasks. It must answer the needs of successive historical stages. Thus its particular elements are changeable. They are born and vanish together with the tasks for which they were created. Our deliberations so far have gone precisely in this direction. This is a good prognosis for the second part of our plenum. The reconstructed party leadership counts on the fact that next January the Central Committee will most energetically pursue the subjects considered yesterday and today and will supplement them with new considerations, with the results of intraparty and society-wide discussion.

Allow me—particularly today—to turn sincerely to the comrades in the front line, to those for whom things are most difficult. I will put things briefly—the party is as its basic organizations are. It is easier to undertake even the boldest resolution in this hall, than to defend it in ones own enterprise or work place, among neighbours or friends at the machines. No party cell in the country is, as I judge, able to say that the Central Committee blocked its initiatives, or slowed down its innovatory activities. Our weakness rests on the fact that we do not sufficiently mobilize support and popularize initiatives. We do not tackle strongly enough attitudes of stagnation and expectation. In this respect the party leadership must show significantly more imagination and consistency. For the whole of our collective energy, every thought and every action, should now focus on the party, its organizations and cells, so that it again becomes synonymous with progress, boldness, initiative.

And one more thing, probably in accordance with the intention of the current plenum. The loss of those comrades, some of whom actively participated in the achievements of the ninth congress is painful for us. Some of them did not withstand the pressure of events and left the party on their own, most often emotional decisions. We hold to the sixth plenum's standpoint on the matter of being open to idealistic, honest people who lost themselves among the labyrinths of previous years, on the matter of the roads of return to the party with full rights. Let them stand together with us to undertake new, ambitious tasks.

Comrades, it is difficult at the moment not to say a few words about what constitutes the basic problem. Yesterday we listened to Comrade Wladyslaw Baka's report on current economic problems and the crucial questions in the plan for 1990. The high dynamics of production, export, certain other indicators confirm the correctness of the reform road. On the other hand, the market situation has become more severe. The improvement of the market, the significant limitation of inflation, are the most important aims of economic policy next year. Greater savings in the budget are also necessary. In the effort to be more thrifty, broadly understood, party members should undertake an active and principled stand. Our unending concern for the rational harmonization of increased economic efficiency and socialist social justice is also necessary. The aim set in the reform of equal rights for sectors is regarded by the party as just and it fully supports this. But in the current conditions of shortages and disequilibrium it is appropriate to decisively counteract the mutation of enterprise into its opposite—scheming, speculative, preying on the inadequacies of the market, the appropriation of the national income, the sharpening of the poles of riches and poverty—preventing this is our inalienable, class obligation.

We fully acknowledge and greet active, honest entrepreneurs. We condemn utterly the sharks of economic life. Speaking figuratively, we favor a contemporary NEP [New Economic Policy], but we oppose rapacious, smug NEP-manism [drapiezne, koltunskie NEPmanstwo].

Comrades! We have been deliberating at a time that is significant not just for Poland. The end of 1988 is also an exceptionally important period in the development of international processes. Approximately 12 days ago, Mikhail Gorbachev made a speech of historic importance from the UN rostrum. It opens new horizons, constitutes a political fact of far-reaching consequences. From the rostrum, in the name of our party, I want to state that the reasoning presented by the Soviet leader and his conception of world and European security fully accord with our national interests, with our party's viewpoint. This is an enormous, significant step forward in clearing the way to construct a joint European home. We are also heading in this direction.

At the National Defense Committee [KOK] meeting on 21 November this year we undertook far-reaching decisions, counting on the adaptation of our defense concept to the new European situation. In the near future, the national defense minister will publicly present more detailed information on this matter. Expenditure on national defense and internal security are apparently a fascinating riddle for some. It suffices to reach for the Statistical Yearbook or the appropriate Sejm publications to find a detailed reply. Those expenditures, expressed of course in zlotys, are affirmed by the Sejm. There is no secret mint in Poland or a printing house for money for the use of the National Defense Ministry [MON] and the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW]. The secret financial assets, calculated in convertible currency, are probably to be found somewhere else entirely.

It is worth noting at this point that next year's state budget assumes defense expenditure at more or less the same level at which subsidies from the budget are envisaged for milk and dairy produce. I would like to take this opportunity to express recognition for all those who, in difficult military and militia service, not counting the sleepless nights and working Sundays, serve the country's defenses, its security and that of its citizens.

Comrades! We have come to an end of the agenda of the first part of the PZPR Central Committee 10th Plenum. The year 1988 is coming to an end. I would like to thank all of you warmly, comrades, for conscientious service to

the working class, working people, the nation. The coming year 1989, the year of the National Conference of Delegates, the year of the Sejm elections, the year of greater efforts to put the economy and social life in order, may not be easy, but it must be more fruitful.

I wish you, dear comrades, those you represent and your dear ones, good health, every success, much strength, and imagination in the implementation of the great aims and tasks in the coming new year, 1989.

Bogdan Borys Criticizes Party

LD2112220388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Speech by Bogdan Borys, member of the PZPR Central Committee, to the PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw on 21 December; recorded]

[Text] The mood among the ranks of party members and activists is not very good; one could say they it is bad. What has led to such a statement? We think that in spite of the fact that since the 9th and 10th party congresses a lot of time has passed, neither we nor the leadership of our party really know what to do. The resolutions of these two congresses, which were supposed to be a breakthrough after a period of error and deformations, were and are continuing to be—gradually by sluggish and bureaucratic methods—watered down, softened, and diminished. We believe that year by year we, the party and its members, are being pushed from the positions which we should occupy according to our statute and the Constitution. Comrades are asking me: Borys, how is it that Miodowicz changes the government, Walesa dissolves the strikes, and the church directs the policy of accord. Where is the party and what is it doing while this is going on?

And tell me comrades, how am I supposed to answer such a question? Of course I try to explain the complex situation in Poland; I say that the processes of changes are complicated and require time, and so on, but believe me comrades, such arguments are not getting through to our members and activists. I will say it straight out: These are no arguments in the present situation. There is a totally unclear situation, which particularly alarms our older comrades, regarding the issue of ideology. We think that the central leadership does not have precise and well-adapted concepts currently to present at the ideological and theoretical conference. The party grass roots, including myself, accuse them of the fact that so far these fundamental party problems are only being discussed by scholars who are often far removed from reality.

And now further points which I have been asked to take up. Comrades believe that our party needs a healthy shake up and major changes both in the central leadership and in the party apparatus. Our party continues to revolve around the magic circle of eternal activists, those who manage to place themselves well after each turn [zakret] and who continue to be highly placed. Comrades are asking straight out: Are there no young people in the party, people trained by party schools, often abroad, who are not burdened by old and entrenched habits? People who could change the style of party work and introduce new ways of tackling changes? there are questions like: How many employees are there in the party apparatus? What are they doing and how? Such questions are becoming more and more frequent. We believe that what is lacking today is a new model of party work. (?This must not be a clerical body). In connection with the earlier statement that the party is being pushed aside, to the peripheries of what is happening in Poland, my comrades believe that because of incorrect and wrong decisions by the Central Committee, the status of the party organizations is diminishing.

Debates are allowed on the view that the work establishments should be depoliticized and the party should be organized near the enterprise, or in the areas outside the enterprises. Such slogans, claim my older comrades, are prompted by our political enemies, and we are trying to adapt them as our slogans and are thoughtlessly introducing them into our work practice.

I would like to warn you that this could mean the end of the party, not just in workplaces, but in general.

A situation arises whereby, as a result of the daily propaganda which has been going on for months, calling for squaring accounts with the past, more and more of our comrades are using the terminology of our enemies. This threatens to break up the party from within. Many comrades think that this is being done for a very specific reason. After the important fourth plenum, which rightly pointed out the need to strengthen the lowest ranking links of the party which decide its strength and effectiveness, successive plenums departed from these decisions. For example, one can cite different approaches to personnel policy. In practice, at the level of the basic party organizations, we have been totally deprived of the effect of personnel policy.

During the conversations which we are holding at present, many comrades express criticism of the view that the strength of the party lies in the number of its members. In our party it is evident that there is increasing division between members who are active, and those who are passive or totally indifferent to what is going on in the party and in Poland. It is a fact, and there is no point hiding it, that many of our meetings are meetings at which the same people speak. Attendance at these meetings is low and party discipline is weakening. This was also mentioned here by our comrade from the Central Auditing and Control Commission. Comrades suggest that we should carry out a verification of party membership and exchange party cards. Such statements are becoming more and more frequent in the conversations which we are holding. Party members, who are workers, believe that in connection with the relatively small number of workers in the party, and the fact that

they are also divided wrongly into mutual and nonmanual workers, perhaps the possibility of changing the name of the party should be considered in connection with this situation.

Workers have yet another fundamental criticism of the party authorities. They believe that the transformations and decision taking place in the context of the reform, are contrary to the principle of social justice, and they say straight out: How can the industrial working class compete with private enterpreneurs, companies, and so on? Already it is clear which people can afford everything and which are just getting by with difficulty in the face of rampant inflation and constant price increases that are getting completely out of control. Let us not be suprised, comrades, by questions from workers who ask: who does our party represent? And whose interests is it defending?

Rakowski Address on Opposition

LD2212011888 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 21 Dec 88

["Rakowski's Address at 10th PUWP CC Plenary Meeting (abridged"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski outlined in his speech during the 10th PUWP CC plenum the economic situation, difficult material situation of a considerable part of society and bad feelings stemming, among other things, from the inflation and market difficulties. In this context, the premier discussed activities of the government which he is steering for less than three months. The premier said:

It is obvious that the government will continue to concentrate its entire energy on the introduction of the economic reform, setting in order the whole economy, which of course does not mean ignoring all that compromises for the country's social and political situation.

Let me recall events which have been impressed in our memory. The price-income operation, the April-May and the August-September strikes, the appointment of a new government—these are the events which, unfortunately, caused the return, in Poland as well as abroad, of the convictions that Poland is in a permanent state of political crisis, that it is an uncertain partner. In the forthcoming year, we should undertake a great effort to remove ground for the opinion that Poland is a country which continually cannot come out of a crisis.

The idea of the "round table" grew out of the policy of agreement and struggle. The sense of the round table initiative was as follows: Move on from declarations of aims to agreement and from respective steps on various planes, which serve this goal, to attempts to reach a general agreement with the constructive opposition. It would first of all embrace Poland's future political and state model, forms and limits of legal participation of the constructive opposition in the public life, in the parliament included—acceptance by the major part of the opposition of coresponsibility for the state and reforms. While planning topics which should be tackled by participants in the round table, we also saw the need to discuss questions of the social and economic reforms as well as the model of Poland's trade union movement, stressed the speaker.

Rakowski went on to say: The aim to reach such a compromise is not a result of our weakness or helplessness. On the contrary. Unlike the opposition, we have in store significant trumps. The broad programme of social and economic reforms is the most weighty among them. The opposition lacks such a programme. In fact it limits itself to grimaces and copying the "no" attitude or to repeating theses and goals included in our programmes.

Forwarding a proposal on the round table, we seized an initiative aimed at expanding and deepening national agreement. This was favourably received by public opinion. Most adult Poles came out for the realization of the proposal to convene the round table, and according to a research conducted by the public opinion polling centre (CBOS) 50-60 percent of the population saw in it a possibility of changes for the better and believed that the talks would end positively.

The forwarding of the proposal on round table talks alone has won understanding and friendly attitude among our essential allies and support in the West.

The realization of talks at the round table met with difficulties. Initially, it was a dispute concerning the political scope of participation of the opposition which, in fact, was a dispute about how far agreement should reach and with whom it should be negotiated.

One should stress with all might that for us all that is related to ensuring the further socialist development of Poland is the greatest value. If any representative of the constructive opposition expects us to abandon this principle, he makes a profound error.

Another impeding factor is the oppositions's waiting for the authorities to define already in an initial declaration their attitude towards the fundamental postulate of the opposition, that is relegalisation of "Solidarnosc." We are of the opinion that the time has come to stop making such a fuss. Our future partners should take seats at the round table without preconditions, following the obligation they undertook.

Anyway, we state clearly that we are willing to discuss a future model of the trade union movement—different than the current one—with the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) and moderate leaders of former "Solidarnosc." We are not afraid of the pluralism defined in the law on trade unions of 1982. However,

materialization of pluralism depends on reaching an agreement as to its principles, forms, time and other premisss which make it possible to take new steps in this direction.

In the times of such stormy changes, political events often take place that cause changes in the political situation as if in the twinkling of an eye, said Rakowski, mentioning the fact that 90 per cent of society termed the Miodowicz-Walesa TV discussion the necessary one.

Both the mentioned research and the careful listening to what people say show that after the discussion not only the position of Walesa changed for the better in public opinion but also support for re-activating Solidarnosc grew. Western mass media played a considerable role in popularizing Walesa as the "winner." Such are the realities that one cannot ignore. A new political situation came into being in Poland after the Miodowicz-Walesa TV discussion. Would it be correct to say that it is worse, the premier asked.

It was not the Walesa of the autumn of 1981, speaking about "pulling somebody's jaws" in Radom, but a Lech Walesa with a different political profile who gained favour of the majority of society in the TV discussion. Let us recall that he spoke in it as an advocate of agreement and compromise.

This attitude of his, he has justified in his statements at press conferences and newspaper interviews. He did not drop it during his time in Paris where some of the emigrees literally provoked him to assume the position of an anti-communist champion.

Can one believe in the durability of this orientation of Walesa, considering the fact that the man has many times before changed his mind and now he is under the pressure also from those radical and uncompromising among his supporters.

I may be wrong but I think it is possible to stake on the generally conciliatory attitude of Walesa and most activists surrounding him for three reasons.

First, every politician develops such a line which gives him success in the shape of approval from a majority of people. Walesa and his moderate aides know that today, having all the experience, most Poles are against adventurism and anarchy. Moreover, he knows we have not forgotten what was pushing Poland into a (possible) national tragedy in 1981. This is why any agreement also requires guarantees that the opposition will not reach for the means and methods of combat against the socialist Polish state which were used in 1981 and also in several subsequent years.

Second, the present international situation is different than in 1981. It is not in the interest of the West to press for a sharp political conflict in Poland. A sharp political confrontation in Poland would strike at the line of Mikhail Gorbachev and this does not lie in the interest of the Western politicians who realistically assess the world's development today.

Third, the church is interested in changing the relations in Poland by way of agreement. And it is not easy to carry out an effective opposition activity against the church line and surely not Walesa or his largely church-related advisers would wish to dare.

There is still one more factor which I want to put for consideration. We say that there is a need for gradual but fundamental reform of the political system and the principles of social life. The constructive opposition is of the same opinion, Although it sees many things differently and to put it mildly it does not necessarily aim at strengthening of socialism as we understand it. One cannot exclude that there are also such people in the ranks of this opposition which aim at the gradual washing away of socialism.

We make it difficult for them to achieve triumphs on this road by stepping up our activities in the sphere of reforming the social and economic system. Sweeping social and economic reforms force the more realistic opposition activists to arrive at agreement with the country's chief political force, our party and its allies.

At present, we are witnessing two parallel processes. One of them is the growth of cautious confidence and support for Lech Walesa and the constructive opposition. The second parallel process is a palpable increase of confidence in the new government and considerable support for our steps. These two trends do not eliminate but supplement each other.

New Leadership Briefs Press

LD2212023888 Warsaw PAP in English
0218 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—After the end of the first part of the 10th PUWP CC plenary meeting newly elected members of the party leadership met with newsmen at a press conference. Among them were Political Bureau members taking on their functions Stanislaw Ciosek, Kazimierz Cypryniak, Iwona Lubowska, Zbigniew Michalek, Wiktor Pyrkosz, Gabriela Rembisz, Janusz Reykowski and Zdzislaw Swiatek. The conference was also attended by new Political Bureau Alternate Members Zdzislaw Balicki, Marek Holdakowski and Zbigniew Sobotka and new PUWP CC Secretaries Zygmunt Czarzasty, Leszek Miller and Marian Stepien.

After introducing new members of the party leadership Slawomir Tabkowski, head of the PUWP CC Propaganda Department, who chaired the conference, stated that it would inaugerate a series of press conferences, to be staged after CC plenary meetings. It is another innovation in the to-date practice.

Next newsmen asked qustions. here are some of them:

What hopes for strengthening of the reformatory line of the party can one pin on the 10th plenum.

In reply Reykowski said: "In my opinion the basic issue for the party leadership will be to specify concrete moves aimed at realizing the policy of reforms. The current plenary session gave a strong impulse to concretize these moves."

How do you want to win over youth to your cause. Can the CC be the venue of meetings with party and non-party youth.

Answering, Miller stated: "This question may be formulated in a different way. How and by what means to win over society to our cause.

In my view, to realize this aim, it is necessary to use all possible means, beginning with programmatic issues which decide about the partys attractiveness. Hence the necessity to search for all new possibilities and a broad range of measures aimed at attracting youth. I dream about young people wanting to come to the CC seat and feeling there at home. I intend to create some kind of a club for the young.

Do you like journalists.

Ciosek answered: "I think you mean attitude towards press. It is a powerful means of destruction. However, I would like to point out that I am a secretary of the party which has part of the press at its disposal.

I do not intend to fight against press, and if this does happen, it will be a fight for agreeement."

Does Polish art truly reflect developments in Poland.

Replying, Stepien stated: "If one were to take into consideration all works of art, it might turn out that they mirror their times somehow."

Youth knows only the socialism of the period of crisis. What can the party offer it so that socialism could become attractive to it.

In reply Lubowska said: "Youth can and should participate in the creation of the new face of socialism. I will try to popularize the party program among the young, who do not always know it. I believe that I will be successful if our work does not mean buying but winning over youth to the party, giving it an example, encouraging it to participation. Youth is patriotic, committed."

Will the formation of a citizens committee at Lech Walesa contribute to acceleration of round table debates.

Answered Ciosek: "I do not know yet. The time will show to what extent this construction serves agreement and to what against it. This will turn out later. I do not take a stance on the issue in question."

Daily's Editor Briefs Press

LD2212012788 Warsaw PAP in English 2358 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—After the end of the first part of the 10th PUWP CC plenary session editor-in-chief of the "TRYBUNA LUDU" party paper Jerzy Majka met with newsmen here today. Discussing the course of the plenum he pointed to the importance of the guidelines of the Political Bureau on which the plenary discussion focused. The guidelines included answers to two basic questions: What should be reforms of socialism in Poland aimed at and what direction should changes within the party itself take.

Majka pointed out some ideas included in the closing address delivered by PUMP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. The line of the party leaderships thinking, reflected in the guidelines and the report of the Political Bureau, met with support of those CC members who took the floor in the discussion.

Majka also briefed newsmen that the second part of the 10th plenum would be held in mid-January next year to enable CC members to have meetings with party organizations and hold discussions on the guidelines.

One of the questions from the newsmen concerned the issue whether, following changes in the PUWP leadership, the party's stand on round table talks would also be transformed. In reply Majka said that the stand which had been presented in Czeslaw Kiszczaks statement did not change. The party will continue activities aimed at holding round table talks.

Minister Accuses West of Supporting Opposition

LD2112231088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1651 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Speech by Wladyslaw Pozoga, deputy minister of internal affairs, at the PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw on 21 December; recorded]

[Text] It is becoming increasingly obvious that the role of brakesman of accord and reforms has been taken on by the oppositional extremists. This is confirmed among other things by the events of the last few days, when there was an attempt to exploit the December anniversary to provoke street disturbances. The instigators of these occurences treated the anniversary as a training ground for transferring the political battle to the streets. And on a wider scale, similarly to other provocations of this kind, they led to the disturbance of the climate of national accord.

Other kinds of actions are also disturbing, aiming as they do to create a new, qualitatively different political situation by using faits accomplis. In this respect the Sunday oppositional parliament in Warsaw is saying that a so-called Citizens' Committee was created. It is to be the opposition's highest political-advisory body, and even, some dream, an alternative to the Sejm and the government. These are not isolated actions. There are continued attempts to set up illegal bodies in work enterprises, educational establishments, and rural areas so as to, from these positions, carry on wrecking activities [rozbijackie oddzialywanie], incitement, and the division of work forces. Slogans about leading the PZPR out of the factories are coined. A specific concrete deadline for beginning the successive—and in the conviction of the extremists—decisive round of the struggle with the authorities, has been set for the spring of next year.

The opponents of dialogue strongly control and seek to tie the hands of the moderate opposition groups in order to block the tendencies toward compromise and plans to seek accord with the authorities.

What do these opponents depend on? The extremists have decided to do all they can to prevent the party and the government from implementing the socio economic reforms. They depend on being able to succeed in bringing the mood, the social mood, to the boiling point and they are attempting to reduce life in the country to anarchy. These opponents want to cause crevasses in the party, to weaken its unity [zwartosc] and its political strength.

We are dealing here with something very similar in thought and scenario to the years 1980-81, the aim of which today is the relegalization of Solidarity in the same organizational, progammatic, and professional shape as it was before. On the other hand, the strategic aim is to change the system in Poland and in this way to weaken the whole socialist community, which would indicate, objectively, also weakening the international position and the security of Poland's borders.

The implementation of these plans gains political and material support from the West; of course, at the price of ever greater dependency. We maintain that the intelligence-espionage centers actually direct illegal groups in the country. They inspire many of their programs and tactics, and organize the communication network and clandestine transfer channels. The quantity of support affects the degree of subordination to the line specified by the espionage centers. Extremist groups that are especially dependent on centers in the West that are hostile to Poland cannot count on a wider social base in our country. They are strengthening attempts to take over for themselves the largest possible part of the subsidies, equipment, and facilities directed from the West. We know the size of this support and at the appropriate time we will reveal the names of the sponsors and also those in the country on whom they are betting so strongly. For, it seems that too little is still being said about these facts, about the stream of dollars which flows unfailingly to the opposition; about the fact that the extremists are exploiting every opportunity which arises to encourage the West to maintain the blockades and barriers in the development of economic relations with Poland. I feel that the so-called constructive opposition should publicly account for this as soon as possible and unambiguously cut itself off from this. For, it is difficult to reconcile the declared willingness to join in the current of national accord with the material dependence on aliens.

Foreign Ministry 16 Dec Press Conference Noted

AU1912191788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Dec 88 p 4

[PAP report: "Conference by the Press Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] In an international sense, 1988 has been a very interesting year. One can say it is ending on a positive note, said Stefan Staniszewski, press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a 16 December press conference with Polish and foreign journalists, the last one this year.

The favorable development of East-West relations which we have been witnessing has been encouraged by the "new thinking" of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership concerning the most important international affairs, said S. Staniszewski. The Soviet leader's recent visit to the United States gave a new stimulus to the new stage of USSR-U.S. dialogue on all important international issues.

The new thinking was reflected and expounded in Mikhail Gorbachev's UN speech on 7 December. From the initiatives and decisions contained therein, it is clear that the USSR is wasting no opportunity to keep up the tempo of development processes and make them permanent and irreversible.

The CPSU general secretary's visit to Poland last July was a very important event, and not only bilaterally. Comprehensive cooperation with the USSR is the most important matter for us. That is the foundation of the Polish raison d'etat. This cooperation is based on a mutual support for perestroyka and sociopolitical reforms in Poland. We want to bring the two societies closer to each other, tighten the bonds established almost 45 years ago, and consolidate the communion of interests in Europe.

Our mutual relations with the socialist countries are changing, mainly thanks to the domestic reforms we are implementing. These relations are really becoming partnerlike. We are abandoning grand words and gestures, and empty-worded descriptions of each other in the press. The differences in each socialist country are making themselves felt. This is a natural consequence of the political and economic changes in each of them. We are

not hiding these facts, we speak and write about them openly. These are natural phenomena which have to be viewed in the light of the supremacy of interests that combine to form the word "friendship." I believe that some of the thorny issues that remain will be resolved next year, and some of the open questions answered.

When talking about our relations with foreign countries, one cannot forget China. This is a great country that is implementing economic reforms with a vengeance, seeking the best model of development, and making skillful use of the experience of others. Our relations with the PRC are good in every sphere. We will develop them, aiming toward an improvement in the economic sphere, where a lot remains to be done to the advantage of both sides.

In our relations with the Western countries, certain progress has been achieved and a normalization of political relations has occurred. However, it is difficult to say that economic and financial cooperation is normal. As far as future relations with the West are concerned, we remain open. We want to eliminate the accumulated difficulties in our relations with some of them.

The first visit in history by a British prime minister to Poland was an important event last year.

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski's visit to Austria was also very favorable for our policy of openness toward the West. Based on long traditions of good relations between the two countries, it is certain that this visit will result in mutually advantageous cooperation between the enterprises of both countries, and will encourage various initiatives concerning economic cooperation.

Minister T. Olechowski's visit to the United States was an important event. Relations with the United States are high on our list of priorities concerning Western cooperation. We believe it is possible to restore the traditionally strong links between our countries. They have to be taken advantage of. It is not "small steps" that are required here, but a more dynamic stage of development, especially in the economic sphere. We are in favor of developing relations with the United States on a stable basis and on the principles of sovereign equality.

The Jaruzelski Plan, drafted jointly by the foreign and defense ministries, established the chief path of our central European security policy and our entire such policy in relation to the whole of Europe. On 14 June we established an expanded and modified variant of this plan. This was a major contribution by Poland to the international debate on detente and disarmament, and confirmed our traditional energy in this sphere.

The Warsaw meeting of European, U.S., and Canadian heads of parliament was an important event. The fact that this unprecedented meeting took place in Warsaw underlines Poland's role in international relations, and not just in Europe.

Our political relations with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are good. As far as economic cooperation is concerned, its scope is limited by economic and financial considerations. Nevertheless, we expect that our progress in the economic reform will create better prospects for a more comprehensive development of relations with these countries.

Next, the spokesman answered questions. One of the first was about tourist traffic between Poland and the socialist countries.

Today is not the first time that we are relaxing passport and visa rules, said S. Staniszewski. Further relaxations in obtaining and using passports, due to come into force on 1 January, have already been welcomed by society. We will take steps to increase tourist traffic with our neighbors, and will remove the formal-bureaucratic barriers.

Our consular service is undertaking activity to protect the interests of our citizens. We are undertaking firm and rapid intervention in cases of discrimination. We report on this in the press. Tourism has always been accompanied by negative phenomena like smuggling and dealing in goods, but these should not affect the possibilities of expanding contacts between our societies. It is obvious that negative phenomena distort the sense of international tourism and have to be combated, but not by applying the principle of collective responsibility.

It seems that an improvement in the economic situation in individual countries, accelerating the CEMA integration, and introducing convertible currencies are ways of overcoming existing difficulties in this sphere.

It is an exaggeration to say that countries suffer losses by having goods taken out of them. In fact, these losses are balanced out when the citizens of these countries purchase goods in others. Therefore, the exporting of goods ought to be controlled by suitable customs duties, not by harshly-imposed restrictions.

I do not think it is possible to avoid a further expansion of international contacts and tourist traffic, because this also a condition for the development of cooperation in all spheres. The subject should be approached without arousing undue emotion, and yet such emotion has been noted in a series of publications in Poland and among our friends.

This information was expanded by Witold Rybczynski, director of the consular department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who said that consultations between the consular departments of the Polish and Soviet Foreign

Ministries had taken place in Warsaw recently. After all, he said, the positive development of tourist traffic between our countries calls for constant discussion on the subject of new phenomena in this sphere. We discussed further tourist relaxations, for example, greater possibilities of visiting the graves of relatives across the border, more efficient customs procedures at border crossings, and better treatment of Polish tourists at the hands of the USSR. There have also been consular consultations with the GDR. We discussed all the problems involved in tourist traffic between our countries.

Another question was: What are the results of Minister Olechowski's Paris visit?

Minister Tadeusz Olechowski's visit to Paris at the beginning of December was a major event in Polish-French relations. It revived the dialogue between the two countries and pushed it to a higher level. We believe it has opened the door to a new stage of relations between Poland and France. The most important result is that it was agreed that French President Francois Mitterand will visit Poland in the second half of next year.

Political dialogue between the foreign ministers of both countries was institutionalized. These meetings will take place once a year, in Warsaw and in Paris alternately. Our foreign ministries will also hold regular consultations.

There will also be contacts between other ministries, in other words the ministries of industry, agriculture, environmental protection, health, and culture. It was agreed to appoint joint working groups on environmental and health protection. As far as health protection is concerned, the idea is the joint manufacture of drugs.

The fact that T. Olechowski is very well-known in France no doubt contributed to the success of the visit. He was Polish ambassador there twice, and at a time when Polish-French relations were good, even exemplary. He was warmly welcomed in Paris. We have reason to be satisfied with this visit.

Agricultural Cooperatives Plenary Meeting Held

Plenum Cables Ceausescu

AU2012154088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 88 p 1

["Cable Sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by the participants in the Plenary Meeting of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives" held in Bucharest, 15 December]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Holding its proceedings in an atmosphere of great communist exactingness and strong patriotic involvement generated by the ideas, theses, and guidelines included in your masterly address at the recent joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum, democratic bodies, and mass and public organizations—a programmatic document of exceptional theoretical and practical value for the overall work of building socialism and communism in our homeland and a noteworthy contribution to the development of scientific socialism and the treasury of universal revolutionary thinking—the plenary meeting of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives has clearly demonstrated the unshakeable unity of cooperative farmers around the party and yourself, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ingenious strategist, founder of a new country, and prominent figure of world political activity and of the international communist and workers movement.

With legitimate patriotic pride, on this occasion, the participants in the plenary session emphasized the revolutionary transformations that have taken place in our country's agriculture and throughout the socioeconomic activity of the Romanian village during the bright years that have elapsed since the Ninth RCP Congress, and clearly described your decisive contribution to formulating and implementing our party's agrarian policy and the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

The participants in the plenary meeting expressed the feelings of great appreciation harbored by cooperative farmers for Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician and scientist of wide-ranging international recognition, for her contribution of great importance to the formulation and fulfillment of the plans and programs for our homeland's many-sided development, and to the development of Romanian science, education, and culture.

We report, much beloved and esteemed comrade secretary general that, on the basis of the ideas, theses, and guidelines included in your exceptional address—a document that has become a program of work and revolutionary activity for our entire party and all our people—the participants in the plenary meeting of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives have examined, with great exactingness and in a critical and self-critical spirit, the results achieved in 1988 in our country's cooperative agriculture, as well as the tasks resting on this important sector of the national economy next year and the measures that have to be taken to commendably implement plan provisions. The plenary meeting made a comprehensive and thorough analysis of the way the collective leadership bodies of the agricultural cooperative unions and units have worked and continue to work to implement the party decisions and country's laws, and your recommendations and guidelines, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the implementation of the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

In highly appreciating your concept regarding the primary role of science, education, and culture, and of the political-ideological and cultural-educational activity in the work of molding the new man, the participants in the plenary meeting expressed their determination to work with greater determination to raise the level of political-professional training of cooperative farmers and of all workers in cooperative agriculture by organizing and holding mass political-ideological and agrozootechnical instruction, and qualification and training courses under the best of conditions, thus ensuring that the most advanced technologies are acquired and widely applied in the production process, and that order, discipline, and a sense of complete responsibility are ensured in each unit and job.

We assure you that Romanian farmers greatly appreciate our party's and state's foreign policy, and your steps and initiatives of wide international response devoted to solving, in the interests of peoples, the serious and complex problems confronting mankind, to building a better and more just world, without weapons and without wars, a world of peace, understanding, and equal cooperation among all nations.

Expressing, once again, the feelings of warm love and great appreciation harbored by our hard-working peasantry for you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we assure you that in 1989—the year in which we will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the great revolutionary act of 23 August 1944 and in which the 14th RCP Congress will take place—we will work with great communist responsibility and patriotic devotion to achieve the largest yields in our country's history, thus making an increasingly decisive contribution to implementing the targets of the new agrarian revolution and to raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization.

The participants in the plenary meeting of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Pacoste Presents Report

AU2012211588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 88 p 2

["The Activity Carried Out by the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management To Fulfill Production and Economic-Financial Tasks in 1988 and the Steps To Be Taken To Increase Production and Economic Efficiency up to the Levels Established by the 1989 State Plan"—"Abridged Text" of a report presented by Cornel Pacoste, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, deputy prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management, at the opening session of the enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management, on 15 December in Bucharest]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management is taking place shortly after the historic joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other democratic bodies and mass and public organizations, which adopted the decision that the brilliant speech made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Republic, should become the revolutionary program of work and action of the party and of the whole nation.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's vast speech—a document of outstanding theoretical and practical significance and an integral part of the party secretary general's all-encompassing social and political work—makes a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the current stage and future development prospects of our socialist society, in accordance with the Romanian people's vital interests. With scientific objectivity, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant analysis outlines the dynamics of the various stages of socioeconomic construction in our country in the years of socialism, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, which opened up a new and great socialist era.

In this glorious period of great achievements, we reinstated agriculture as a basic branch of our fatherland's socioeconomic development. We built large irrigation systems on an area currently covering 3,650,000 hectares, which in April 1989 will extend to 4,000,000 hectares, and we carried out important land improvement and soil melioration work, as well as other operations to increase the productive potential of the land. We have thus created conditions to further increase our crops: In recent years, grain production reached some 30 million tonnes, while important increases were also registered in other agricultural sectors. These results prove the correctness of our party policy of promoting the intensive and comprehensive development of highly efficient agriculture, on the basis of the latest scientific achievements and of the cooperative and the whole nation's socialist ownership. This is the lasting foundation of society's uniform development, based on the uniform plan, and of our revolutionary democracy; it is also a strong confirmation of the legitimacy and viability of socialism as a form of organization for our agriculture.

On behalf of all working people in agriculture, we respectfully extend our deep and boundless gratitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, illustrious politician and statesman, and brilliant founder of modern Romania, for the way in which he conceived and implemented the development and modernization of our agriculture and the overall progress of our economy and country; for his decisive contribution to substantiating the strategy of socialist and communist construction in our fatherland, raising Romania to ever higher peaks of progress and civilization, and constantly increasing the material and intellectual well-being of the whole nation; and for his tireless international activity which has set him down in mankind's awareness as a hero of peace, understanding, and cooperation among nations.

In the party secretary general's vision, the implementation of the new agrarian revolution is an essential part of the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism. The targets of the new agrarian revolution are being achieved by introducing scientific research results into the production flow; this is done on the basis of programs worked out under the direct guidance and coordination of Comrade Elena Ceausescu, an eminent politician and scholar of great world renown, for whom we also express on this occasion our profound homage and sentiments of gratitude for her contribution to the overall efforts to base the entire activity in our country on the latest achievements of science and technology.

In light of decisions adopted by the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other democratic bodies and mass and public organizations, we will examine, in a critical and self-critical spirit, the results obtained in 1988 and the measures to fulfill the 1989 plan. The decisions to be adopted by our plenary meeting will have to ensure the unflinching implementation of the tasks set forth by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP, and increase the contribution of agriculture and other spheres of activity to fulfilling the strategic target of the current 5-Year plan, namely, Romania's transition to the stage of a medium-developed socialist country.

The report further points out that in 1988, in spite of rather less than favorable weather conditions, the working people in agriculture have obtained better summer and autumn crops, which ensure proper public supplies of agricultural and food products and can also satisfy other requirements of the national economy. This year's grain production exceeded 30 million tonnes, thus ensuring the fulfillment of the tasks envisaged by the 13th RCP Congress. Many socialist agricultural units obtain

record yields, something which proves the potential of our agriculture and the existing opportunities to further increase all outputs. More than 700 state and cooperative agricultural units obtained production of more than 5,000 kg of wheat per hectare, and 50 of these units exceeded 8,000 kg of grain per hectare; as for corn, 71 units obtained more than 20,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare. Among these front-ranking units, outstanding results were scored by: the agricultural production cooperative of Scornicesti, Olt County, which obtained 9,945 kg of barley per hectare and 9,086 kg of wheat per hectare; the agricultural production cooperative of Girbovi, Ialomita County, which obtained 9,365 kg of barley per hectare; the agricultural production cooperative of Cenei, Timis County, with 9,324 kg per hectare [crop not identified]; the agricultural production cooperative of Prejmer, Brasov County, with 8,920 kg per hectare [crop not identified]. As for corn, the following units obtained peak results: Scornicesti, 29,159 kg per hectare, and Obirsia, 28,910 kg per hectare, both from Olt County; Branistea, Giurgiu County, 27,400 kg per hectare; and other units.

In spite of the good results obtained by certain counties and units, the report emphasizes that average and total yields, as well as deliveries to the state stocks were below the planned stipulations.

Failure to fulfill the planned tasks is mainly due to the insufficient concern shown by ministry cadres, county agricultural bodies, the managements of units, experts, and the members of the Executive Bureau of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management, who did not take enough responsible steps to strengthen order and discipline in the use of the land stock and of highly productive seeds, to prepare the land and properly tend the crops, to apply and observe established agrotechnical methods, to commendably harvest, store, and use the crops, to exploit tractors and other agricultural machines to full capacity, and to mobilize and make efficient use of the manpower in villages.

Emphasizing that the land is the whole nation's most precious asset and the main agricultural means of production, the report points out the shortcomings apparent in the activity of state and cooperative agricultural units, joint councils, county agricultural directorates, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the National Council for the Uniform Administration of the Land Stock, whose duty is to fully utilize, protect, and preserve arable areas, and to raise their productive potential.

Next year, the report specifies, we will have to radically change our attitude. We must show a greater spirit of responsibility toward the land and completely eliminate existing shortcomings. We should resolutely proceed to fulfilling the tasks stipulated by our national programs and wisely utilize each square meter of land, regardless of who owns it. In this respect, steps have been taken to expand the arable land in accordance with 1989 plan provisions, to utilize all agricultural land with maximum efficiency, and to deploy the crops in harmony with the concrete conditions prevailing in each unit, by observing the prescribed crop rotation.

At the same time, the report outlines various measures that will have to be implemented in order to carry out the important irrigation, drainage, and soil erosion operations envisaged for next year.

In the livestock sector we scored a series of better results in 1988, compared with the previous year. Although the number of cattle, pigs, and sheep has increased, it is still below the plan provisions. Failure to attain the planned numbers of cattle and sheep was mainly due to poor concern with proper feeding, sheltering, and caring for the livestock, to the persistence of shortcomings in the activity of certain units and farms, and to certain deficiencies in preventing losses through deaths and by slaughtering animals on special occasions.

The report emphasizes that, although the general economic-financial situation of the agricultural units has improved this year, it is still not up to the level of current requirements, as a result of a failure to fulfill all planned tasks and a lack of overall correlation between expenses and the production obtained.

The report further says: The 1989 plan for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management, drafted under Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's direct leadership and guidance, ensures the successful implementation of the tasks laid down by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP for these important fields of activity.

Through its provisions, the plan for the intensive development, modernization, and organization of agriculture on the basis of the latest scientific-technological achievements creates conditions for strongly increasing vegetable and animal production, for obtaining sure and stable crops, and for raising the qualitative level of the peasantry's work and life, in accordance with the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

The 1989 plan provides for a 5-5.5 percent increase in the overall agricultural production and a 6-6.5 percent increase in the net agricultural production. The stipulated targets will be achieved by obtaining larger average outputs; increasing labor productivity; reducing material expenditures; and consistently applying the principles of the economic-financial mechanism.

In order to increase our grain production—the main agricultural goal in 1989—and the production of industrial plants, the Ministry of Agriculture and the county agricultural bodies must take responsible steps to commendably carry out, on schedule, all operations for

preparing the next year's crop, to apply the established technologies, to generally disseminate the experience of front-ranking units, and to utilize highly productive strains and hybrids.

A program of measures for the smooth running of the spring campaign was drafted and submitted for discussion at the plenary session; this program specifies the volume of work and the main operations to be carried out.

Pointing out the importance of fulfilling next year's tasks in an exemplary manner, the report stresses the need for more and more agricultural units, joint agroindustrial councils, and counties to obtain higher outputs and better economic-financial results. Over the entire area, they should obtain 20,000 kg of corn cobs per irrigated hectare and 12,000 kg of corn cobs per nonirrigated hectare, over 8,000 kg of wheat and barley per hectare, 60,000 kg of sugar beet, and so forth, so as to qualify for the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution."

The report also refers to the various tasks of agricultural units, which are called upon to increase supplies of vegetables to the public and to satisfy other requirements of the national economy.

The report emphasizes that the mechanization sector is making an important contribution to fulfilling the agricultural production. In this respect, it points out the need for agricultural mechanization stations, sections, and sectors to attach greater importance to the need to increase overall outputs by performing their duties at a high level. At the same time, they must pay particular attention to maintaining and ensuring the perfect functioning of the entire fleet of agricultural machines, to recovering, reconditioning, and reutilizing spare parts, and to reducing fuel and energy consumption.

In order to fulfill tasks in the livestock sector, it is necessary to take resolute steps to achieve the stipulated numbers of all breeds of animals and the envisaged animal production, to increase the birthrate, to ensure appropriate conditions for feeding, sheltering, and caring for livestock, to improve the elaboration of technological, production, health, and veterinary norms, and to instill total order and discipline within all zootechnical units.

At the same time, we must take steps to fulfill the programs concerning the development of silkworm breeding, beekeeping, fish breeding, and rabbit breeding.

As far as economic efficiency is concerned, the report emphasizes the need to strengthen the spirit of responsibility in the rational administration of financial funds and material means, so that each leu spent can be put to good account, thus increasing the profitability of all units.

Regarding the creation of the centralized state stocks, the plan tasks have not been fulfilled this year, although the achievements are higher than last year; there were certain lags in taking delivery of grain and animal products. In view of this situation, the report stresses that steps have been taken to deliver all the envisaged quantities to the state stocks, to properly organize and conclude the contracts with productive agricultural units and private farms, to ensure the necessary storage facilities and appropriate functioning of silos, and to efficiently procure the prescribed amount of high quality agricultural produce.

This year the food industry has also registered a steady development compared with 1987, scoring better results in industrial commodity production and in the delivery of goods to market stocks. In spite of all this, the 1988 achievements are below planned tasks and not quite up to the existing opportunities and material base.

There were a number of shortcomings in this field, namely in smoothly fulfilling plan provisions, in producing a rich and qualitatively higher range of products, and in securing and utilizing raw materials. There were deficiencies in the functioning of several sugar and oil factories, bakeries, and other enterprises for the processing of vegetables and fruit.

The 1989 plan provides for important increases in all indicators; hence, we should carry out steady activity to further implement the measures on perfecting the organization and modernization of production processes and improving our special programs for the development of various branches of the food industry, in order to raise the quality and diversify the range of products and to increase the utilization of raw materials.

In silviculture, the fulfillment of plan provisions will be ensured by the application of a set of measures which aim to rationally utilize the stock of wood, regenerate large areas in forests, and carry out the envisaged afforestation work.

In 1989 the National Council for Water Resources will have more tasks than in 1988, hence the need for greater efforts to better organize work and the productive process, in order to fulfill the important tasks established for this sector.

A decisive role in fulfilling the plan provisions for agriculture, food industry, silviculture, and water management is played by scientific research, which is called upon to contribute to creating new strains for all varieties of plants—these strains should be more productive, should be resistant to illness, pests, and drought, and should have a shorter ripening span—by applying the latest scientific achievements in biotechnology and genetic engineering. Scientific research is also called upon to contribute to working out modern technologies, so as to achieve ever larger vegetable and animal outputs,

implementing the goals of the new agrarian revolution, improving overall activities, and obtaining better results in all these spheres and sectors of the national economy.

Cultivation technologies will prove their economic usefulness through the better utilization of fertilizers and irrigation, and through lower energy consumption for each product unit. Attention will be paid to the elaboration of solutions to prevent soil degradation, increase the fertility of eroded, salty, and sandy areas, and rationally utilizing our big irrigation systems.

We must speed up the application of all scientific research results into the production flow. To this end, the ministries, central departments, county agricultural directorates, the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, and the research institutes and stations should intensify their activity and take responsible steps to ensure that the productive units fulfill all the plan indicators for 1989 and to prepare the necessary conditions for increasing production in the coming years.

After the Ninth RCP Congress, on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's profoundly innovative orientations and ideas, we proceeded to improve the organization and management of agriculture by introducing an economic mechanism which is based on the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, by creating the working people's councils as bodies of our revolutionary workers democracy, and by institutionalizing the working people's general meetings.

Life has shown that democratic organizational structures have proved their viability in actual fact, by ensuring the working people's broad participation in working out and implementing the targets for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management.

In order to firmly apply the principles of the economic-financial mechanism, self-management, and self-administration, we will take steps to increase economic efficiency in all sectors of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management, to further increase labor productivity and reduce production costs, to expand the mechanization and modernization of production processes, and to apply economic-financial regulations and expenditure ceilings for each product, so that no unit should still be registering losses in 1989.

Particular attention will be paid to preventive financial control. We must constantly supervise the implementation of provisions concerning the income and expenditure budgets, and prevent any kind of uneconomical expenditure.

Important investment projects envisaged for 1989 will be carried out only on the basis of standardized technologies and designs, by continuously reducing the consumption of metal, cement, and other materials that are high consumers of energy, and by broadly utilizing raw and recoverable materials.

At the end of 1989, we will fully meet the energy requirements of livestock farms and other agricultural units with the help of unconventional energy sources, by utilizing biogas, biomass, solar energy, winds, thermal waters, and microhydrowpower stations. Steps will be taken in each county, joint council, and agricultural unit to fulfill this task, by making maximum use of all local sources of unconventional energy.

In the spirit of requirements and guidelines formulated by the party secretary general, the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management is determined to act to improve the overall style and methods of work, to strengthen order and discipline, to observe the country's laws, and to increase the spirit of personal and collective responsibility in the fulfillment of plan tasks. The Executive Bureau of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management will have to show greater responsibility and firmness in dynamizing the activity of all its members and component ministries.

In conclusion, the report says: Drawing all lessons from the positive experience and from the shortcomings apparent this year, the managerial cadres and all working people in agriculture, food industry, the contracting and procurement of agriculture produce, forestry, and water management pledge to act with devotion and self-denial to fulfill plan tasks in an exemplary manner and to increase production to the level of the requirements and targets of the new agrarian revolution, in order to raise the contribution of these branches to increasing the national income, promoting the country's overall progress, and raising the whole nation's well-being, thus welcoming the 45th anniversary of the fatherland's liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with new and important achievements.

Further on Dizdarevic, 'Arafat Dinner Toasts
LD2112214988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2133 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, gave a formal dinner in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in the Palace of the Federation this evening. The president of the SFRY Presidency greeted Yasir 'Arafat as "an always dear, welcome, and esteemed guest, a collocutor and fellow campaigner over many years and as a testified friend of Yugoslavia."

"The heroic struggle of the Palestinian people which, like yourself, we firmly believe, confirms once again the historical experience of the world that aspirations for freedom cannot ever or by any means be extinguished," Dizdarevic stated. Recalling that the distinguished guest had launched a significant peace initiative in front of the United Nations General Assembly in the last few days, the president of the SFRY Presidency said "The olive branch which you brought as a symbol 14 years ago to the headquarters of the world organization, has become a sturdy tree. Beneath the branches of this tree there should finally begin a process in which the outstretcheded hand is accepted, for the purpose of the life, and development in peace, of all the countries of the Middle East within secure and internationally recognized borders."

Dizdarevic also observed that in connection with the just Palestinian struggle, constructiveness, realism, and understanding are increasingly becoming characteristic of the modern world. "This," he concluded, "is confirmation of the virtually undivided support and understanding of the vast majority in the world organization for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence, and a proof which emerged precisely in the days when the 40th anniversary of the Declaration on Human Rights is being marked. And these are obviously rights which for decades now have been withheld from an entire people, the Palestinian people."

The president of the SFRY Presidency also noted the new more favorable atmosphere in international relations which makes the solution of many international crises seem more possible.

"There is much evidence that encouraging prospects are being opened up in connection with the Middle East as well," Dizdarevic stated. "The heroic Palestinian intifada on which are directed the eyes of the whole world, is inevitably smashing the illusion about the possibility of further postponing a solution. The Palestinian National Council has met and political decisions of historical significance for the prospects of a lasting and equitable solution to the crisis and the Palestinian question were adopted. The results of inter-Arab rapprochement, thanks to your constructive activity and the involvement of other Arab statesman, are tangible. Perhaps there has never before been so much understaanding and support in the world for the legitimate aims of the Palestinian struggle."

The proclamation of an independent Palestinian state was welcomed by us with happiness and sincere satisfaction. This is a historic deed in the decades-long struggle for the achievements of your legitimate aspirations and a powerful confirmation that the Palestinian people see their right to self-determination and the creation of their own state in their national land through the legitimacy of all the peoples and states in the region to have an independent, secure, and peaceful development.

The prospects for an international peace conference on the Middle East have thus become more realistic and closer, President Dizdarevic concluded. Anyone who rejects this must therefore take on to himself a responsibility for which—whether the Middle East continues to be in the abyss of wars and mindlessness—history can never forgive him and the world will not consider passively any more either, he observed.

Dizdarevic stressed that Yugoslavia has always given a primary place to the Palestinian problem as a precondition for an equitable and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis.

"It is a part of our reality that we are a European country on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in a region where confrontations have been present throughout its entire history. Not just our security, but also the vital interests of the Mediterranean, of Europe, and of the world as a whole are therefore inseparable from the dialogue on an equal basis, from cooperation, and the security of everyone in this region and, by implication, from a just solution to the Near East crisis. We shall continue to work toward achieving these goals through bilateral and multilateral contacts in both Europe and the world."

Yugoslav-Palestinian friendship has always been marked by meaningful and dynamic cooperation. We have been examining the strategy of the movement's activity under altered international circumstances since—in a fast-changing world—it must be an even more efficient factor of all that is positive and that helps to more quickly resolve the problems which continue to weigh heavily upon international relations, Dizdarevic said and concluded by stating that Yugoslavia will work even harder toward a solution of the Near East crisis and will make efforts to ensure that an international peace conference on the Near East takes place as soon as possible.

In reply to the greetings, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat stressed that he felt honored to be invited to "Tito's friendly Yugoslavia, one of the founder-countries of the Nonaligned Movement."

"I have the honor to convey to you the deep gratitide of our people in the occupied territories and elsewhere and the gratitude of the PLO, the representative of our people in its struggle and also my own sincere gratitude for your recognition of the Palestinian state proclaimed at last month's meeting of the Palestine National Council in fraternal Algeria," he said.

'Arafat placed special emphasis on the fact that Yugoslavia was among the first to recognize the Palestine state. This, he said, "is proof of the principled and moral stand of your country and your people in giving support to our just struggle to create our own identity on the territory of our own homeland."

'Arafat drew attention to the heroic struggle of the people in the occupied territories and said that intifada would continue "for as long as the occupier is on our territories and until our people are given the opportunity to have their own sovereignty under the leadership of the PLO on their own national territory."

'Arafat also noted the realistic and constructive Palestinian initiatives, including the initiative at the United Nations General Assembly session in Geneva, to achieve all-embracing and just peace in the region.

"The whole world is on our side in respect of our concern for peace and in unreserved support for us. Even those who were on Israel's side before could not ignore our concern for peace and our desire and aspiration to achieve all- embracing and just peace in the Near East, a peace which will give us our rights and safeguard the rights of others," the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee stressed. He explained that in this context "a dialogue has opened between us and the United States with the aim of removing obstacles to an international conference on peace in the Near East and of making it possible for our people to achieve sovereignty on their national territory".

'Arafat remarked that Israel continues to be isolated and defiant in light of the international community's will.

Our talks today with our host have shown, according to 'Arafat, an identity of views. "We respect and highly appreciate your principles and moral support and are convinced that friendly Yugoslavia, as the next chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, will further promote the role of the movement; through concerted efforts we will succeed in safeguarding the movement's achievements and further developing its activity in order to keep it in the focus of events and its vanguard role at a time of detente and of efforts to resolve regional troublespots, especially in light of the movement's significant historical role in the cold war period and its sense of responsibility for world peace."

"In this context, the Palestinian issue occupies top position on the list of priority tasks to be tackled by the Nonaligned Movement both now and in the future. It is therefore our desire to see the Nonaligned Movement, with Yugoslavia at its head, play a more efficient role in speeding up the process of convening an international conference on peace in the Near East to enable our people to be sovereign on its own national territory. This becomes even more important in light of the fact that Yugoslavia is to take over the chairmanship of the movement in the coming period," he concluded.

Dizdarevic Departs for Romania 22 Dec

LD2212095288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, left today for an official and friendly visit to Romania. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign economic relations, are accompanying Dizdarevic.

At Surcin Airport in Belgrade the president of the SFRY Presidency was seen off by Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Spasoje Medenica, vice president of the SFRY Assembly; Milos Milosavljevic, the vice president of the FEC; Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs; Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; Aleksandar Babocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly; Milivoje Maksic, the deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; and other officials.

Representatives of the Romanian Embassy in Belgrade were also present.

LCY Discusses International Development

LD1512184988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 14 Dec 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Many interesting and, bearing in mind the nature of the body, even radical opinions were heard in an ambitiously conceived discussion about "international development" and Yugoslavia's role within it, held at the LCY Central Committee International Cooperation Commission.

Current foreign policy issues, the SFRY's international status, and the LCY's tasks arising from the international context were considered at the session, held in the framework of preparations for a session of the LCY Central Committee and chaired by Dobrivoje Vidic. The discussion will be used as a basis for outlining an initial framework for an introductory speech and debate at the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee.

Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in an introductory speech that it is necessary to make an analytical

survey of recent international relations, particularly following the 13th LCY Congress, and to examine more closely political and economic trends which exercise a direct influence on the status of the SFRY and its policy, based on further improvement in peace initiatives, all-round cooperation, social advancement, and progress.

The first participant in the debate, Petric, asked: "Should we not subdue the euphoric reaction to the nomination of Yugoslavia to host the forthcoming gathering of the nonaligned? Without denying our country's suitability, he said that this emerged from a certain "set of circumstances." Adding that it was now "the turn of our diplomatic service" to respond to the climate of "general openness," he concluded that it is "illusory to believe that Yugoslavia's international status has not deteriorated."

Some of the speakers advocated a more "realistic" approach to economic cooperation, remarking that politically sound ideals, as for instance "the new economic order," are not easily realized and maybe not feasible at all.

Badurina said that it is not only the use of crude force that can undermine the security of the country. In his view, the same can be achieved by more subtle methods in which he included the so-called "brain-drain." Disclosing the figure that 40,000 young people with university degrees have left the country in the last few years, he described this exodus to be "the greatest tragedy." Where are we going to find people to build the country if the most "valuable and skilled are leaving."

In the ensuing debate Malada opposed the very term "adjustment," seeing it rather as a sign of our lagging behind the world than as a sovereign and purposeful action. [passage omitted]

Assembly Delegates Briefed on Foreign Secretariat
AU1612194688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs Under a Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] Foreign policy was subject to delegates' critical examination at the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber today [13 December].

Mirjana Kuljic-Saranovic pointed out that she had received two "truths" in reply to her question about the behavior of Bozidar Gagro, our ambassador in Paris: the one was offered in the reply of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the other was carried in POLITIKA and INTERVJU. The latter was signed by Milos Tosic, an old World War I veteran, former diplomat, and current president of the association of the holders of the "Albanian Campaign Medal" [presented to Serbian Army soldiers who retreated through Albania in World War I]. Because the Federal Secretariat failed to provide answers to important questions (about why the ambassador failed to receive all the Saloniki Front veterans who visited Paris recently), she suggested that this case be discussed by the Foreign Policy Committee.

For this session the FEC prepared a reply to Sergej Lukac's question of how it had happened that a North Korean press agency carried the statement by our ambassador to that country to the effect that "Yugoslavia will never recognize South Korea."

It is said in the reply that Ambassador Miodrag Bogicevic had spoken at a press conference organized on 26 October on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Yugoslavia's recognition of the DPRK. In reply to the question on Yugoslav-South Korean relations, Bogicevic said that "Yugoslavia does not recognize South Korea, but has economic and other types of relations with it, something which is in the nature of the Yugoslav system." The FEC concludes from this that the interpretation of the North Korean agency "is inadequate and obviously tendentious and meant for the North Korean public, which was obviously confused by the decision of the Hungarian Government to have trade agencies with consular functions open in Budapest and Seoul." It is also said that the same agency has also tendentiously interpreted the statement by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Hwang Chang-yop, Korean Workers Party secretary, on 7 November.

After this, Lukac asked the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs whether it asked the DPRK agency to correct these false reports. If it has asked, he wanted to know the results, and if it has not, he wanted to know why has it not.

Another case concerning a controversial diplomatic representative cropped up today. Vaso Djukanovic quoted an assertion from Mileta Kordic's publication "Hey, Kosovo", according to which our diplomat by the name of Redzaji (surname not given), who was preparing to go to Bolivia in 1988 [year as published], which was when the book came out, belonged to the Prince Eugen SS Division. Djukanovic also quoted POLITIKA EKSPRES, which carried the following on 12 November: "Well-known are the cases of arrests in Spain in which large amounts of money were confiscated and into which some women close to our ambassador were mixed up." Djukanovic points out that Redzep Suroj is our former ambassador to Bolivia and present ambassador to Spain and asks whether all these assertions are true, whether they were known to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs when it accepted Suroj in diplomatic service, and why this institution failed to deny these assertions in time.

In connection with his previous question about the fee paid for visas needed when our citizens travel to Libya, he received the reply that consular consultations had

been planned to be held on 18 and 19 September. Klime Popovski asked for additional information on what had been done about the unjustifiably high sums of money asked for these visas.

Ljubomir Ajdinski asked that a debate be held by the Foreign Policy Committee about the state of our cemeteries in Greece. The reason for this is that the Greek Foreign Ministry had stated that there are no possibilities for sites where our soldiers were killed to be identified, and that the corresponding Albanian ministry said that all veterans' graveyards had been turned into arable land.

Foreign Secretariat on Provincial Responsibility

LD1712233488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2037 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, December 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's activities in international affairs have confirmed its place, role and reputation in the world, as shown by its choice for the host of the next non-aligned summit, Balkan foreign ministers' meeting, activities in the U.N., but internal difficulties have made it harder for the the Yugoslav diplomacy to perform its tasks, today's meeting of Communists in the Foreign Affairs Secretariat said.

The aspirations of the country's enemies grew, the number of demonstrations by hostile Albanian imigrants increased, the anti-Yugoslav activity of the pro-fascist emigration was strengthened in cooperation or with the silent approval of their host country, the meeting said.

The best example of this is the attack by pro-Ustashi demonstrators on Yugoslavia's insufficiently protected consulate in Sydney on November 27, the gathering said.

The event showed the high degree of patriotic awareness of Yugoslavia's diplomatic representatives. On the other hand examples of individuals with unacceptable moral qualities surfaced, damaging the reputation of the Yugoslav diplomacy and of the country itself.

The talk showed that readiness exists in the Foreign Secretariat to open the diplomacy's doors to intelligent and capable people who did not learn the trade there.

But the meeting stressed that the secretariat cannot bear the responsibility for their moral and human qualities, only republics and provinces or institutions from which they came bear that responsibility.

The meeting concluded that work, engagement and quality must be the main criteria for personnel policy.

The meeting proposed that, in accord with the demands of time and democratisation, a stand be adopted under which diplomats do not have to be members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), that personnel not from the secretariat undergo a test to show their overall personality and that the number of non-diplomacy personnel as heads of missions be limited to 30 percent be examined.

The most important ambassador posts should be given to those persons which the foreign secretary believes are best suited to the task, either from diplomacy or not, the meeting said.

DPA Contradicts Slovenia's Stanovnik

AU1712150188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] TANJUG reports from Bonn that DPA, the West German news agency, has refuted a statement by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, to the effect that the agency had incorrectly reported his words in an interview granted by Stanovnik to a DPA correspondent in Ljubljana last Tuesday.

Quoting its Belgrade correspondent, the West German news agency states that it guarantees that Stanovnik was properly quoted and that a tape recording exists to support this assertion. DPA says that Stanovnik said in his interview that, we quote, socialism as a model has failed [socializam kao model je doziveo slom], end quote, and that he was in favor of introducing a multiparty system in Yugoslavia.

Let us recall: Through the republican Committee for Information, Stanovnik denied these statements the day before yesterday, asserting that the news agency quoted him incorrectly and inexactly.

Montenegro LC To Hold Early Congress

LD2212015988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0037 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Titograd, December 21 (TANJUG)—The Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee today decided to have a party congress in mid-1989, one year ahead of schedule.

The decision of the party leadership of Montenegro, the smallest and one of the least developed Yugoslav republics, is the result of the present difficult economic and political situation in the republic.

Of the republic's 600,000 population, nearly 100,000 people receive some kind of social aid, and a large number of enterprises may be faced with bankruptcy when the economic reform takes effect on January 1, 1989.

The political situation in the republic has been unstable since the workers' and students' demonstrations early in October, the reasons for the demonstrations were the economic difficulties and the slow settlement of the

situation in neighbouring Kosovo Province, where Albanian separatists are putting pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins to leave. The authorities introduced special measures, and at least three people were injured in a clash between the security forces and the workers in Niksic, an industrial town near the Montenegrin capital.

The dissatisfaction of a part of the population, especially of the workers and students, with the official explanation for the use of violence in keeping down the demonstrations, was expressed at today's session. Demands for determining responsibility and for changes in the present party leadership were heard at today's debate, which was vehement and polemical at moments. There were also views that unjustified criticism questioned the moral and political integrity of the Central Committee members.

Montenegrin Youth organization president, university Professor Ljubisa Stankovic said that a part of the population believes that the present leadership is not capable of successfully leading it through the economic reform.

Republican party President Miljan Radovic admitted there were many unknown facts, wanderings and lateness in stabilizing the situation in the Republic, but that the public has not been informed enough about the efforts and achievements so far.

The wave of democracy in society should lead towards a reform of the party and other transformations of society, Radovic said.

Criticism of Government Economic Reforms Viewed
LD2112193888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—Calls for the resignation of the Prime Minister Branko Mikulic cabinet are becoming increasingly loud and frequent, primarily because of the government's failure to curb the three-digit inflation. Since Mikulic took office, inflation has risen threefold to reach annual rate of 250 per cent at the end of the year.

The government is doubtless much to blame for the deteriorating economic situation, and also for showing inadequate resolve and even giving in to partial interests.

However, when the complexity of the Yugoslav decision-making system is taken into account, one must admit that the blame does not rest exclusively with the government.

Delegates of the Assembly of Yugoslavia will have the final say about the measure of the government's responsibility for the aggravation of the crisis in the country.

The Yugoslav Government was the target of loud criticism also last spring, but the federal parliament decided against taking a confidence vote in the Mikulic cabinet since the government had at the time already launched its "package of measures" that was supposed to reduce inflation to 95 per cent. The measures, however failed to produce desirable effects.

The fact that the government made precisely the May measures—whose effects were assessed as unsatisfactory—the backbone of its economic policy for 1989 has provoked bitter criticism in the Yugoslav republics and provinces.

There is only ten days left until the new year and many dilemma still remain concerning the economic reform—also proposed by the government and planned to take effect early in the year. However, no one disputes the basic goals of the reform-market economy, independence and diversity of the forms of enterprises (social, joint, private), pluralism of ownership and the opening up to the world.

Critics most frequently cite the incompleteness and ambiguity, as well as a compromise quality of some of the solutions contained in the laws that are to provide legal framework for the reform. Nearly one hundred amendments have recently been proposed—most of them from the most developed Yugoslav republic—to a law on enterprises, which is considered crucial to the reform.

It is also not known for certain how many of the planned nine laws that are to bring about the reform would actually be adopted by the end of the year. Some have warned that if the validity of the laws is to be ensured, it would be much more advisable to extend the time limit for adopting them, than work under its pressure and end up with ill-conceived laws.

Same as Yugoslavs, the government hopes that the reform will get off to a good start and in time, but it should not be surprised if the question of its responsibility is raised. Members of the Mikulic cabinet frequently say they have nothing against, but stress that probes should be made only for matters actually within their jurisdiction.

Comparison of LCY Central Committee Document

AU2012160388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 16 December on pages 1-3 carries the 8,000 word text of the LCY Central Committee document containing stances and tasks of the LCY in implementing economic reform. The document was adopted at the 19th LCY Central Committee session on 12 December. The BORBA version has been compared with the TANJUG version headlined "Central Committee Document on Economic Reforms," published in the Yugoslavia section of the 19 December East European DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

page 54, column one, from end of second paragraph to beginning of third paragraph should read: ...text now follows:

The second half of the 20th century has brought unimaginable economic, developmental, and political changes in the world, which are a result of scientific knowledge and material, as well as social development. The existing social systems and production relations in them have come into contradiction with development, something which has been dramatically manifested in the deep ferment and restructuring in all societies. Capitalist countries are responding to these challenges with changes that include widely open possibilities of using the technological revolution in a way that stimulates initiative, creativity, and the participation of the workers class, and also includes some achievements of socialism, especially in the social sphere. These countries have also created new forms of interconnection at the global level, shifting part of the costs of their development and of the restructuring of their economy and society onto undeveloped counties, particularly developing countries, and applying many measures of protectionism and discrimination.

Socialist countries—burdened by ideological prejudices and ideas about socialism as a well-rounded system that is based on new laws of economic and social development, laws that should make it possible to build up a socialist society within a relatively short historical period, a society that is free of exploitation and does not comply with economic laws—are now in the stage of searching for solutions to the grave economic crisis into which such a model of development has brought them.

Despite the fact that it perceived the dangers of bureaucratic state socialism very early—in its conflict with Stalinism, which occurred already in the beginning of its socialist development—and opened the process of building up a democratic socialist society on the basis of social ownership and self-management, our socialist self-managing society did not succeeed in avoiding the dangers of anticipating social relations for which the material conditions and suitable social consciousness had not yet been created. One failed to bear in mind all the specificities of a society of a transitional period—the necessity of realizing the inherited economic laws at our present stage of development and the dangers of statism, one-party monopoly, and the dominance of politics over the economy—and of absorbed civilizational achievements insufficiently, particularly the achievements of societies with democratic development.

Being a society of a transitional period, our socialist self-managing society has to lay its foundations on commodity production and on participating in the world division of labor on the world market. It has to build into its socialist self-managing system all the modern elements that will motivate producers and all working people to work efficiently and productively in a way, that is capable of absorbing all the modern scientific and technological achievements meant to meet all economic, social, and cultural needs at a higher level and to create a new quality of life. There is no reason to underestimate our people's productive and creative abilities, particularly because they possess social wealth and they can manage this wealth and their labor.

Such a character... (supplying additional passage);

page 54, column two, from end of first full paragraph to beginning of second full paragraph should read: ...the world market.

These tenets will turn self-managers into active economic factors; connect self-management with economic reality in the country and in the world; and increase production, knowledge, and management to the world level, thereby helping the humane aspect of self-management to be in full conformity and not at variance with efficiency, and in this way opening the way to a wealthier socialist society. These are essential prerequisites for the democratic development of society and for having full links between economic transformation and democratic transformation of society and of the LC within it.

These are the basic reasons for the urgent demand that economic reform be accepted as part of the general social reform, which includes political reform and the reform of the LC as well. These reforms are the basis for necessary deep social transformation in our country, a prerequisite for finding a way out of the crisis, and achieving future progress.

In this connection, at its 19th session held on 12 December 1988, the LCY Central Committee adopted the following:

LCY STANCES AND TASKS IN IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC REFORM

Deep Social Transformation—Prerequisite for Further Development of Socialist Self-Management

1. The LCY Central... (supplying additional passage);

page 55, column one, from end of second paragraph to beginning of third paragraph should read: ...out social changes.

The Essence of the Economic Reform

2. The LCY Central... (supplying subtitle);

page 55, column one, from end of third paragraph, to beginning of fourth paragraph should read: ...ignorance, and misunderstanding.

The Central Committee points out that the basic task of the reform is to release the creativity, initiative, and entrepreneurial capabilities of the workers class and working people of Yugoslavia and to enable them to improve the conditions of their life and work in their self-managing organizations and communities on the basis of economic efficiency proved in the market and

thereby contribute to general social development. It is necessary to create a general climate at all levels of society which will favor such an orientation. A significant constituent element of the economic reform is the orientation that our economy should be a part of the world market under the condition that there is an integral and unified Yugoslav market and market evaluation of all factors of production, that the concept of social property as social capital is introduced along with all its economic functions and consequences, that cadre renewal and evaluation based on market principles should be introduced, and that allocation and distribution should be based on income and gain.

This requires the use of mechanisms and solutions of modern capitalism adapted to our conditions. The worker in our society manages social property and his financial interest and social power are based upon this, and besides, he acquires his personal income on the basis of work that must be verified on the market and on the basis of managing social capital.

The LC Demands Changes in the Economic System Based on the Ideopolitical Orientations of the LCY Conference

3. The LCY Central Committee has assessed that the stances of the LCY conference and the constitutional amendments adopted have created ideopolitical and constitutional conditions for making a concept of the economic and social reforms and starting to adopt them.

This assessment is mainly based on the ideopolitical essence of solutions that promote social property that is adapted to market conditions and ensure the equality of other forms of property, that is, cooperative, private, mixed, and personal property; develop an integrated market and create bases for developing various forms of financial market, securities, and conditions in which the entire social capital is evaluated more objectively; create conditions for a greater efficiency of self-managing decisionmaking; constitute the basic, independent, legal, economic, and market subject; establish the status of trade with all its market functions; define the bank as an independent and responsible financial subject; and further the system of economic relations with foreign countries, particularly as concerns opening to the world, the greater utilization of foreign capital, and so on.

The LCY Central Committee particularly points out that the introduction of securities with fluctuating dividends, that is shares, share capital, and shareholding does not mean introducing relations that are characteristic of the capitalist system, but applying some generally accepted modern solutions of market economy which make possible a more efficient utilization of production and social means of production.

The Central Committee has assessed that the prepared "Bases of the Economic System Reform" have proceeded from ideopolitical tenets, but not all parts of the economic system are equally developed and some of them do not represent a sufficiently clear basis for a successful operationalization of the solutions of the economic system in these spheres. One must continue and intensify work on these questions, because the synchronized establishment of all the essential elements of the economic system is very important for the success of the economic reform. One should continue to work on finding even more acceptable solutions pertaining to the nature of ownership, the character and role of enterprises and the state, and the system of income and gain distribution—particularly in finding solutions for sharing income on the basis of investments—pertaining to the system of taxes and contributions, the system of supporting a quicker development of economically underdeveloped regions in socialist republics and autonomous provinces, to social activities, and to the development of social policy.

Proceeding from the constitutional provision that investors should be given a share in management proportionate to their investment, it is necessary to elaborate some basic questions concerning management and the self-managing position of workers in joint enterprises with domestic partners, joint enterprises with domestic and foreign partners, limited liability companies [drustvo], and companies with share capital, as well as workers' rights in private organizations with private ownership—domestic or foreign.

The LCY Central Committee particularly stresses the importance of completely perceiving all the changes that are required in the economic system in accordance with the ideopolitical foundations contained in the orientations of the LCY conference and constitutional amendments, as well as perceiving the need for Communists to initiate broad activity in science, the economy, and creative potentials in all other spheres with a view to having solutions in the economic system implemented and realized as successfully and efficiently as possible.

The Central Committee points out that it is necessary to intensify work on clearly perceiving and establishing all the changes that have to be carried out in the implementation of the economic reform—in the sphere of the economic system, economic, and social policy; in solving grave current problems —particularly those for curbing inflation—in creating the necessary material conditions for preparing economic subjects and society as a whole to operate under new reformed conditions, with the orientations of a transitional period and the dynamics of implementing reform moves. In doing all this, it is necessary to clearly define all the changes that must be made in 1989.

The Reform of the State Serving Economic Reform

4. Radical changes in the functions and organization of the state and its institutions at all levels, ranging from commune to the federation, are the essential condition for the successful implementation of the economic

reform. The role of all sociopolitical communities in economic relations must undergo essential changes. The essence of these changes lies in creating conditions to enable the objective interests of the working people and their activity in realizing these interests to come to the fore, and in transferring rights and powers from institutions and state organs to economic subjects and to the market in accordance with constitutional provisions, in the condition that they are able to carry out the duties that remain in their jurisdiction.

The reorganization and reform of the state implies abolishing those institutions that become superfluous under the conditions of market operations and the independence of economic subjects and establishing new institutions required by the market nature of the economy.

Economic reform requires... (supplying additional passage);

page 55, second column, from end of first partial paragraph to beginning of first complete paragraph should read: ...of the Federation.

It is necessary for republics and provinces to perform their functions in socioeconomic development efficiently and to make their contribution primarily to creating conditions for the undisturbed functioning of the integrated market of commodity and services, labor and knowledge, and social capital and creating favorable economic, institutional, and other conditions for a stable and dynamic development of economy, as well as the overall material and cultural development.

In the new...(adding passage);

page 57, first column, from end of first partial paragraph to start of first complete paragraph should read: ...economically justified basis.

To Embark Upon Economic Reform Without Delay

7. In the process...(supplying subtitle);

page 57, column two, from end of fifth paragraph to beginning of sixth paragraph should read: ...possibility for development.

Economic Policy Must Open Road to Economic Reform

8. The Central Committee... (supplying subtitle);

page 59, from end of item should read: ...of their implementation. Belgrade, 12 December 1988... (supplying place and date)

Presidium Statement on Kosovo Endorsed

AU1312195088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary]

[Text] In our country, almost as a rule, the important political decisions come to fruition very slowly. Along with a great deal of vacillation and resistance, the party leadership of the country usually formulates its assessments in a way which prevents their free interpretation. This was also the fate, until yesterday, of the assessment of recent demonstrations by Albanians in Kosovo.

However, in contrast to the previous reaction, the latest document of the LCY Central Committee Presidium does not contain partial and general statements. Everything is clear and everything is said without any reservations.

The aim of the demonstrations, according to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was to block the constitutional changes and to prevent the process of establishing the accountability of the provincial leadership. The Presidium adopted the view that the demonstrations were organized and directed against the constitutional order in Serbia and Yugoslavia. The greatest responsibility for all this, according to the Presidium, lies with the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and its Presidium.

In addition to these key political assessments and views, the Presidium also provides convincing arguments. At the end of the statement, the Presidium also suggested the direction of the future action. First of all it stresses the importance of undertaking the specific measures of accountability and cadre renewal in the Kosovo leadership.

This principled attitude of the LCY Central Committee Presidium toward the latest events in Kosovo has not, as it appears, gone without resistance. One could conclude this from the speech made last night by Remzi Koljgeci who is at present the number one man in the province. He revealed that at the Presidium session, when these stands were discussed, he did not agree with them. Citing the differences in the assessments of these events made by the party organs of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo, Koljgeci proposed that this issue also be discussed by the Central Committee. His proposal was adopted although the reasons for continuing the discussion on this topic sound unconvincing. If this is a matter of difference, they indeed exist, but only between the assessments on the demonstrations made by the party organs of Serbia and Kosovo.

The provincial leadership is of the opinion that the en mass gatherings of the citizens of the Albanian nationality in November took place because the citizens wanted to express their disagreement with the changes in the fundamental constitutional principles, and that this was the reasons for chants about Tito, the party, and its leadership.

The Serbian Presidency and the Serbian LC Central Committee, concluded, however, that these gatherings were the demonstrations of a counterrevolutionary, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav character. Between this assessment and the assessment contained in the statement issued yesterday at the LCY Central Committee session, there is no difference, because blocking changes and every separatist and anti-reform behavior in our circumstances is counterrevolutionary by its very nature. If the demonstrations in Kosovo were organized and directed against the constitutional order in Serbian and Yugoslavia, as is pointed out in the statement, are they therefore not anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav in their essence?

The assessments concerning the accountability for the situation in Kosovo are also identical. What is then the purpose of shifting this issue from session to session? There are other things to be done, one speaker observed at the plenum yesterday.

Kosovo, demonstrations, and accountability will then be discussed again. Perhaps this future LC Central Committee session will also be a marathon session, and perhaps there will be another form of political collusion or some new instance of unprincipled behavior. Perhaps somebody will again say, as Stipe Suvar did last night, that these stands are some kind of a compromise. Whatever, one should believe that the awareness that every discussion on Kosovo is at the same time a discussion on Yugoslavia is growing stronger.

Tupurkovski Views LC Reform, Crisis

AU1512134588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 88 p 11

[Report on interview with Vasil Tupurkovski, member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, by Manco Mitevski reprinted from KOMUNIST: "The Key to the Denouement"—date and place not given]

[Text] ".... If we do not realize that the explanation and realization of the three reforms is of priority importance in parallel with their dialectical unity, I am convinced that we will remain at the level of experimentation. The LC, however, does not have the right to carry out experiments," said Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in an interview for KOMUNIST. Its revolutionary activity depends on its ability to carry out a deep-rooted analysis of its historical experience and to project in a scientific and material way the future characteristics of the desired social development.

[Mitevski] How is it possible to go through with such a serious act as party reform under conditions where the essence of the LCY copies republican-provincial divisions?

[Tupurkovski] At first sight, our orientation toward such comprehensive transformations under conditions where the LC has a weakened social position and where deep stagnation is generally characteristic for us, seems paradoxical. In fact, the regular nature of social development cleared up the question of the development of socialist social relations without any conflict a long time ago. We are obliged to view the evolution of our own society through this dialectical prism. Therefore, the LC should not shed any tears for its own or Yugoslavia's fate. Historical pessimism is not its destiny. On the contrary.

However, in itself this is not a solution to the crisis in the LC nor is it, and I agree with this, a good starting point for achieving valid results in the rhythm and quality of the proclaimed reforms.

It is justified to fear that even the reforms can be approached from the viewpoint of previous accounts and calculations on their usefulness for the republic, or a nation, or one's "own" economy. This attitude is created and reproduced because of the present divisions and autarky in our socioeconomic relations and, on this basis, in our political relations as well.

It would be much better if we were to build a cult of some vital republican or national interests instead of a cult of self-management and to gather the strength to face the truth: Our cults are in this sense their own type of anachronism, an expression of a dogmatic and primitive consciousness, and idolatary, which speak about integrational processes in the world but practise something else at home. With such innate hypocrisy, not one movement can survive with a progressive profile nor one political subject which aspires to its own exclusive vanguard. Those who think that the LC has a chance to smuggle itself through history and ideology, in order to preserve the structure and content of the present production relations and social status quo, are in fact stabbing the LC in the back. Our social trends must converge with world-historical trends. Our aim must be the incorporation of our economic, scientific-technological, social, and cultural fabric into the world and internationalist fabric. Regional and global integrating processes as the only alternative to peripherization and regression cannot be realized through one's own disintegration. In this sense, the federalization of the LC, which has actually been caused by our inconsistency in the development of self-management as a general, comprehensive production relation, is the root of the crisis in the LC and a barrier on the way to raising our communist movement to the necessary level of quality of its cohesive and integrational functions....

The 17th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee has in fact made a significant contribution in the direction of the synthesis that is essential for Yugoslavia. In the first place, we must stress its basic orientations. We must unite over reform. This is the key for our denouement and my attitude to this is crystal clear.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

"An Unprincipled Coalition"

[Mitevski] After the 17th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee, your succinct statement on the effects of an "unprincipled coalition" was quoted the most frequently and it seems in the most controversial way.

[Tupurkovski] .... What I said can be explained in the political sociological sense. My analysis was not even original because since the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, held in June 1984, in public party discussions on the proposed conclusions at this session and through the stands of the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY conference, we clearly stated among our membership in the LCY the danger of the serious tendencies that the LC be only a coalition of national-republican and provincial organizations and serve as a battleground for pragmatic bargaining and as the stage for unprincipled discussions and attacks.

The statist-bureaucratic attitude, and especially the consciousness that is based and created in these frameworks, result in the alienation of the leaderships. From the objective viewpoint, whether we want to admit this or not, we are now going through a stage in social development in which the distance between the LC leaderships and the class is unambiguously and alarmingly present....

Slovene SAWP Presidium Discusses Problems

LD1312232288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—The reform of the political system and the economic policy for next year were the main topics of a discussion at a session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium. In the words of Joze Korinsek who delivered the introductory speech, Yugoslavia has on several occasions already attempted to solve problems by reforms, and our society is faced with a similar challenge today, but today it is weakened by economic, political, national, and other issues. [passage omitted]

In the words of Danijel Pucko, we should not delay reform, while the central issue next year must be curbing inflation. Inflation is a political problem and it requires a political solution. The economy must be radically unburdened, said Pucko. Bogomir Kovac stressed that the present FEC does not have the support of the economy with its policy, because it issued two bonuses in the past year and a half.

We need a new government and a new progam which the Yugoslav economy can trust. This is a question of expertise and well as being a political one.

Bogomir Kovac proposed a political initiative that specific FEC departments be transferred to republics and provinces, in other words, to decentralize the federal administration. [passage omitted]

Peter Novak agreed with Bogomir Kovac's proposal that the FEC should face a vote of no confidence. The devaluation of our currency four times over in the past 2 years shows an inability to solve the problem. He warned against social security in particular. In his words, it is essential that people should be allowed to live a dignified life in the transition period until the period of market economy. He also proposed the decentralization of the federal administration. Within this context, as he put it, Slovenia should take on the Federal Institute for Standardization, the Federal Institute for Patents, and the Federal Institute for Precious metals. Slovenia is in position to offer expert and any other assistance to these institutes so that the quality of their work can be raised. [passage omitted]

Dusan Semolic briefed the Presidium on the initiative carried in the latest issue of MLADINA to found a Slovene socialist-democratic alliance. Proceeding from our attitude to pluralism and a different kind of socialism as well as demands for the effective transformation of the Socialist Alliance, a discussion on this should take place at one of the future sessions of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium. The exponents of this initiative will also be invited to attend. Semolic said that the Socialist Alliance has already had talks with members of the coordination committee preparing the founding of the Slovene socialist-democratic alliance. On this occasion, the members of the committee said that they wished to cooperate with the Socialist Alliance and within it, as an autonomous sociopolitical organization with its own program, and that the framework of its activity is the existing constitution and legislature.

Apart from this initiative, the assembly of cultural workers of Slovenia has recently initiated the founding of a Slovene democratic alliance of reason.

Joze Skolc said that there was also a third initiative—to found a liberal-democratic alliance.

These initiatives will be discussed at one of the future sessions of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium.

Kosovo Assembly Hears Report on Demonstrations

AU1512180988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] Mass gatherings and demonstrations by ethnic Albanian citizens have aggravated the political security situation in Kosovo, and this favors Albanian nationalists and separatists and other internal and external

enemies. Rahman Morina, Kosovo internal affairs secretary, stressed this in his opening speech at the session of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly. Milivoje Mihailovic reports:

The consequences of all this are unforeseeable because interethnic mistrust was deepened and this will be reflected in the process of emigration by the Serbs and Montenegrins from the province, Rahman Morina said.

[Begin Morina recording] The findings and investigations by the [State Security] Service indicate that the gatherings and demonstrations by ethnic Albanian citizens were well organized and well directed. These gatherings and demonstrations, because of their mass nature—according to our estimates, over 100,000 were present—because of their euphoric nature, persistence, and long duration, endangered the legal order and the realistic danger existed that they might grow into wider excess behavior, thus threatening the constitutional order in the country.

This is supported by the fact that the participation of persons acting from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism was increasing during the course of the events, and that hostile manifestations were growing. [end recording]

Rahman Morina then stressed that the demonstrations showed that activities had been lacking in explaining the constitutional changes and that the people were left to themselves.

[Begin Morina recording] The vacuum was exploited by people acting from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as well as others. They persuaded the people that the constitutional changes will abolish the province, the ethnic Albanian flag, their culture, their language, and other things, which of course contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of tension and indignation by some citizens, and in this atmosphere the organizers and inspirers did not find it difficult to gather the citizens in their masses.

The question of inspirers and organizers of these gatherings imposes itself. The Service continuously works to determine all the facts, but sufficient elements for a precise and complete answer to this question are still lacking. The State Security Service, we may say, was caught by surprise, because it did not know the time and the place of these events and the manner of their execution, and it was not prepared to take a proper stance in this connection. It bear responsibility for this, and appropriate measures are being taken in this direction.

It was nevertheless established that the service possessed reports that indications existed pointing to the possibility of such events occurring. The work of the service so far could not discover or prove that these events are a result of organized, illegal, hostile activities from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which is the exclusive preserve of the service. Modest findings so far indicate that our investigations should be directed toward some structures outside these categories as the possible organizers and initiators of the gatherings. [end recording]

The report by the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs which was distributed to the delegates says that the security service identified about 200 persons of security interest, including former political convicts, participants in the 1968 and 1981 demonstrations, people who returned from Albania, and contacts of hostile emigrants and foreign intelligence services; 39 persons were taken for questioning, of whom 35 were given a warning, and 4 were summarily punished for shouting the slogan: Kosovo—Republic.

Although there was no discussion on this point of the agenda, delegates' questions at the session of the sociopolitical chamber are significant. (Agim Kastrati) asked why it is not stated that Turks, Muslims, and Romanies also took part in the demonstrations. (Hazir Obrazda) demanded an explanation of why national equality is not being implemented evenly throughout the country and why the Albanian language is not recognized in Macedonia and Albanians are not allowed to be educated in their mother tongue. He also asked why the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly do not receive Serbian Assembly papers in Albanian.

A detailed analysis about mass demonstrations by Albanians will be examined at one of the coming sessions of the Kosovo Assembly.

Serbian Government Discusses Strikes

AU1512210188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Marinela Raznjatovic report]

[Text] What has been said by the Executive Council of Serbia about strikes? There has been a considerable increase in the number of strikes in Serbia in the past 3 months. The basic reason: living conditions bordering on mere subsistence. The conclusion of the session is that almost all the effects of reducing the burden of taxation on the economy have been devalued [words indistinct].

Here is a brief report on strikes in the past 3 months: Their number has increased; there have been as many 161 stoppages involving over 34,000 workers who want to solve their problems outside the collectives, expressly demanding increased personal earnings regardless of the results of work and the opportunities under the law. In this way they contribute to a strengthening of the tendency toward egalitarianism.

The question that is most frequently asked after a strike is what is the source of money for increasing personal incomes? This money comes either from an organization's own funds on the basis of gross income shown in the accounts, or from advances against budget adjustments and forecast earnings. Very often, there is a third solution: a short-term bank loan or loans from other work organizations that have to be repaid at rather high interest rates. Of course, in this way, one runs the risk that an organization may face losses and even greater financial problems in the coming period. Therefore, the report on work stoppages concludes that it is necessary that the social accord on the foundations for self-managing regulation of relations in earning and distributing income should incorporate a provision for a worker's lowest personal income that would guarantee at least bare subsistence to an employed man and his family.

In addition, managing and self-managing organs in collectives are urged to take resolute measures for eliminating the causes of work stoppages. It is also urged that the Serbian Trade Union Federation Council should determine clear rules on the obligations and responsibilities of trade union organizations during strikes and in solving the problems that lead to strikes.

Despite the measures taken to reduce the burden of taxes on the economy, the present distribution of income makes the financial position of social economy even worse. This follows from the report that funds for expanding the material foundation of labor continue to fall in real terms [words indistinct]. The overall interest payments, real and revalued, paid by the economy have reached 6.67 trillion dinars, and they are 308.6 percent higher than in the same period last year.

The Serbian Executive Council sessions therefore concluded that measures to influence a rationalization of the entire social superstructure and stimulate a revival of the economy should be adopted as soon as possible, and financial consolidation should be dominant.

Commentary on Vojvodina Officials Leaving LC

AU1612212988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] The Vojvodina party at large was extremely shocked when it learned that Djordje Stojsic and Dusan Popovic, ideologists and strategists of autonomism in the province, have left the LC. Such a step is indeed unexpected from the dogged, hard-core autonomists, but it all becomes clearer when one perceives the background to their turning in their party cards. Zivojin Jerotijevic says in this connection:

To put it simply, the current political situation in Vojvodina shows that the followers of the autonomist policy, built and strengthened perfidiously and very frequently with police methods, have not been idle for over 20 years. Those who were pulling the strings of the autonomist policy in the past strive to control at least the peripheral functions through the tactics of activating the cadres in the shadows, and when the dust has settled, to ruin the new political course indirectly.

The attempts in some Vojvodina communal committees—for instance, in Sremska, Mitrovica, and Zrenjanin—to infiltrate hidden autonomists into the central party core have been prevented in time, although one cannot assert with certainty that some have nevertheless not succeeded. Such a tactic, of course, opens the scope to the ideologists of autonomism to influence the creation and implementation of policy from behind the scenes after they have withdrawn from the political stage.

However, in order that one would be able at all to act politically without incurring sanctions, it is necessary, as Popovic and Stojsic think, to preserve the halo of honest men. Therefore, pretending to be insulted, they decided to return their party cards, which in some places is still regarded as an act of honor.

The logic is pretty simple. By leaving the LC of their own will, Popovic and Stojsic do not admit defeat, but they clearly dissociate themselves from the policy they do not accept. They probably believe that in this way they will miss having to account for the errors and omissions and the grave political failure which a special working group of the Provincial Committee is now investigating.

If events go this way, these two former party leaders of Vojvodina will perhaps again reach the position when they will secretly weave the political net through their cadre agents. The Communists of Vojvodina will not allow them to do this.